

The Last Pullman Car

Transit Policy
Derails American-made
Passenger Cars

By David Moberg

Yankee, Come Back

Why Iran Needs
U.S. Support

By John Judis

THE INSIDE STORY



Election '80 Right, left or center?

By John Judis

Would you like to know whether the country has moved right, left or center as a result of the 1980 elections? To find out (and get in practice for your IRS forms), fill out the *In These Times* Scorecard and then compute the country's ideological index.

Instructions: When election results come in, fill in the blank at the left of the candidates' names with the number that comes after the winning candidate. (The numbers beside the candidates represent their position on the ideological index [on a scale of 1 to 10], multiplied by the importance of the election. For instance, Carter's and Reagan's numbers are determined by multiplying their ratings of 6 and 8 respectively by 5; Bayh's and Quayle's ratings are 4 and 8 multiplied by 2.)



THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE

☐ Carter (30) vs. ☐ Reagan (40)

THE SENATE

Connecticut

☐ Dodd (8) vs. ☐ Buckley (17)

Indiana

☐ Church (10) vs. ☐ Symms (18)
☐ Bayh (8) vs. ☐ Quayle (16)

Iowa

☐ Culver (8) vs. ☐ Grassley (17)

New York

☐ Holtzman (7) vs. ☐ Javits (11)
vs. D'Amato (16)

South Dakota

☐ McGovern (10) vs. ☐ Abdnor (24)

Wisconsin

☐ Nelson (4) vs. ☐ Kasten (8)

THE HOUSE

Arizona

☐ Udall (4) vs. ☐ Huff (8)

California

☐ Bork (4) vs. ☐ Clausen (7)

This issue (Vol. 5, No. 1) published Nov. 5, 1980, for newsstand sales Nov. 5-11, 1980.

- ☐ J. Burton (4) vs. ☐ McQuaid (7)
☐ Corman (4) vs. ☐ Fiedler (8)
☐ Peck (4) vs. ☐ Dornan (9)
- Colorado
☐ Kogovsek (5) vs. ☐ McCormick (8)
- Illinois
☐ Robinson (4) vs. ☐ Findley (7)
- Indiana
☐ Brademas (8) vs. ☐ Hiler (16)
☐ Evans (4) vs. ☐ Dan. Crane (8)
- Iowa
☐ Harkin (4) vs. ☐ Hultman (8)
- Maryland
☐ Dyson (5) vs. ☐ Bauman (9)
- Michigan
☐ O'Reilly (3) vs. ☐ Purcell (7)
- New York
☐ Burstein (4) vs. ☐ McGrath (7)
☐ M. Green (3) vs. ☐ B. Green (7)
- Oregon
☐ Ullman (6) vs. ☐ Smith (8)
- Pennsylvania
☐ Edgar (4) vs. ☐ Rochford (8)
- South Carolina
☐ Ravenal (4) vs. ☐ Hartnett (8)
☐ Turnipseed (3) vs. ☐ Spence (8)
- Texas
☐ Mattox (4) vs. ☐ Turken (8)
☐ Wright (6) vs. ☐ Bradshaw (8)
☐ Eckhardt (8) vs. ☐ Fields (16)
- Wisconsin
☐ Aspin (3) vs. ☐ Walsh (7)
☐ Kastenmeier (4) vs. ☐ Wright (8)

THE GOVERNORS

New Hampshire

☐ Gallen (5) vs. ☐ Thomson (9)

Washington

☐ McDermott (5) vs. ☐ Spellman (7)

THE STATE LEGISLATURES

California

☐ Democrats (4) vs. ☐ GOP (8)
vs. ☐ split (5)

Illinois

☐ Democrats (5) vs. ☐ GOP (7)
vs. ☐ split (6)

Pennsylvania

☐ Democrats (4) vs. ☐ GOP (7)
vs. ☐ split (6)

☐ SUBTOTAL

☐ If Barry Commoner gets more than 2 percent, cut 10 from the subtotal, and enter here.

☐ If any of the following lose, add 20 to the subtotal and enter here. Ron Dellums (Calif.), John Conyers (Mich.), George Crockett (Mich.), Harold Washington (Ill.), Gus Savage (Ill.), Theodore Weiss (N.Y.),

Toby Moffett (Conn.) or Barney Frank (Mass.).

☐ If Ed Clark gets more than 5 percent, cut 5 from subtotal and then add 5.

☐ TOTAL

Divide the final total by 50 to get the ideological index.

☐ Enter here. Now locate this number on the Election '80 Scorecard below.



Election '80 Scorecard

LEFT

- ☐ 0 Classless society, world disarmament
- ☐ 1 Democratic socialism, negotiated disarmament
- ☐ 2 Full-employment planning, public ownership of energy, negotiated disarmament
- ☐ 3 Full employment planning, SALT II & III
- ☐ 4 Liberal capitalism, National health insurance, SALT II
- ☐ 5 Liberal capitalism, CETA, SALT II
- ☐ 6 Corporate greed, OSHA, MX (& SALT II?)
- ☐ 7 Corporate greed, ERA, arms race
- ☐ 8 Big business control, unemployment, arms race
- ☐ 9 Big business control, war, caste society
- ☐ 10 Fascism, war, genocide

RIGHT

Key to Scorecard. Specific programs on the ideological list, such as public ownership of energy, or national health insurance, or ERA apply only to the ideological index number under which it appears and to all lower numbers. Thus an ideological index of 3 would include health insurance, CETA, OSHA and ERA, but an index of 7 (which is where George Bush stands), would include ERA, but not the others.

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BUREAUS

BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, (617) 738-9707.
DENVER: Timothy Lange, (303) 322-315.
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Iran and U.S. are both ready to bend

By John Judis

AT ITS WORST, THE HOSTAGE drama of the last year was a medium through which the factions of Iran's Islamic leadership vied for control over the revolution, with the top spot going to the *mullahs* who could mouth the most embittered anti-American slogans. But the hostage drama also posed the question of whether Iran, a state bounded by the Soviet Union and by hostile Arab nations, could develop a foreign policy without recourse to the U.S.

Similarly for the U.S., the hostage drama was, on one level, an exercise in domestic politics geared to re-elect Jimmy Carter, while on the other hand, it raised the pressing question of whether the U.S. could establish equitable relations with a major Third World oil producer.

It now looks likely that the 52 hostages will finally be released. That move will terminate one phase of the hostage drama, but not the other. It will bring both the Iranian and American leadership face to face with the broader political questions about their countries' relations.

For both countries, the last year has been a neurotic episode—a return of the repressed—created by 25 years of wholehearted U.S. support for the Shah of Iran.

Divided Iran.

Iran's diplomatic dilemmas predate any American activity in the Persian Gulf. During the 19th century, Great Britain and Czarist Russia divided Iran between them. During the 1930s, Iran, under the Shah's father, pursued what Iranian diplomatic historian R.K. Ramazani calls a "third power strategy" of allying itself with Nazi Germany. But in 1941 Britain and Soviet Russia threw out Reza Shah, installed his son and ruled Iran through a military government.

During World War II, the U.S. became Iran's "third power." Pursuing its open-door policy, the U.S. persuaded Britain and the Soviet Union to promise Iran formal independence after the war.

Iran did become formally independent in 1946, but the principal influence in Iranian politics was the British-controlled Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Iranian nationalists, led by Mohammed Mossadegh, nationalized the oil companies in 1951. The U.S., which wanted to take Britain's place in Iran, initially supported Mossadegh, but in 1953 organized a coup that toppled him and brought the Shah back to power.

The coup won the U.S. a 40 percent share in Iranian oil. The U.S. also became the principal supporter of the Shah's regime, providing it with military and economic aid, and even training the Shah's security force, SAVAK.

It was widely understood that American military aid was primarily aimed at internal rather than external threats. "Do you know what the head of the Iranian army told one of our people?" Hubert Humphrey said in 1960. "He said the army was in good shape, thanks to U.S. aid—it was now capable of coping with the civilian population."

After 1968, when the British withdrew their troops from the Persian Gulf, increasingly prosperous Iran became the U.S.'s most important ally in the region. With the \$20 billion in arms the Shah bought between 1963 and 1978, he suppressed rebellions in the Gulf states and in 1972 even sent planes to South Vietnam.

The Shah, for his part, staked his future on economic growth, largely cosmetic land reforms, the world's most brutal security police, and the friendship of the U.S. and Israel against his Arab neighbors and the Soviet Union.

While the Shah—not the U.S.—ruled

Iran, the U.S. nevertheless stood directly behind the Shah's rule. Until the Vietnam war, the U.S. would most certainly have intervened militarily, if necessary, to prevent any threat to the Shah's rule. The Shah's Iranian opponents, from left-wing students to right-wing clerics, who were not interested in subtle distinctions between colonialism and neo-colonialism, saw the Shah simply as an agent of American imperialism. "All that happened in Iran—it was not the imperial court that made the decisions," Abolhassan Bani-Sadr said in 1979. "It was the United States embassy."

Ibrahim Yazdi, whom the Ayatollah Khomeini appointed Foreign Minister in 1979, even blamed Iranian Communism on the imperialists. "Communism was created in Iran by the Americans and the British," Yazdi explained.

The hostages seized.

The Carter administration did little to alter the close identity between the U.S. and the Shah. Arms sales continued unabated. The State Department's Human Rights Report annually found signs of improvement in the Shah's conduct. And Jimmy Carter went out of his way to exclaim that Iran had "blossomed forth under enlightened leadership." Carter simply followed word-for-word the script written by Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger.

During the 1978 uprising, the U.S.

was unable to act. The administration was torn between Zbigniew Brzezinski's desire to prop up the Shah with whatever force was necessary and the State Department's wish to throw American support behind a new military-backed reform government.

American indecision was typified by Carter's ordering the carrier *Constellation* to sail from the Philippines to the Persian Gulf to back up the Shah, then countermanding his orders when the carrier had gone half way.

Within the divided Iranian revolution, there were different degrees of resentment toward and distrust of the U.S., ranging from the conciliatory attitudes of Khomeini's first prime minister, Mehdi Bazargan, and—to a lesser extent—Bani-Sadr, to the right-wing clerics on the one hand and the anti-imperialist student left and the pro-Soviet *Tudeh* party on the other. But within Khomeini's avowedly anti-Communist circles, which encompassed both Bazargan and Ayatollah Beheshti, the head of the Islamic Republican Party, there was a pragmatic realization that Iran would have to maintain some ties with the U.S. to counterbalance the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly at Khomeini's behest, Bazargan and Yazdi held talks with American officials aimed at normalizing relations in the summer and fall of 1979. But for two reasons, these talks never bore fruit.

First, the Carter administration, which

had earlier refused to admit the Shah, bowed to pressure from banker David Rockefeller, the Shah's chief financial advisor, and admitted him in October 1979 for medical treatment. By admitting the Shah, the U.S. opened the floodgates of fear in Iran that the U.S. was planning another 1953-style coup that would restore the Shah or his son. According to Bani-Sadr, it awakened "a whole generation's fear that the revolution would fail."

Second, the American admission of the Shah provided a pretext for the anti-U.S. left and the anti-secular pan-Islamic right to oust the secular, nationalist "liberals" from power. While the seizure of the embassy took place two weeks after the Shah had been admitted to the U.S., it followed by only three days a meeting between Bazargan, Yazdi and Brzezinski at Algeria's 25th anniversary celebration in Algiers. The meeting was shown on Iranian television at the request of Information Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, who at the time was competing with Bazargan for power.

When Khomeini, who has continually tried to hew a middle course between the different Islamic factions, refused to order the students out of the embassy, Bazargan resigned. His resignation opened the way for the Islamic constitution and the "second Islamic revolution."

Negotiations fail.

During last winter and spring, there were two times when the release of the hostages looked imminent, but each time Khomeini, pressured by both the left and the Islamic right, backed off. In February, Bani-Sadr, with Khomeini's support, agreed to a UN commission that would investigate the crimes of the Shah and the U.S. The hostages' release could follow the commission's report. In March, Bani-Sadr and Khomeini initially welcomed, then repudiated, a conciliatory letter transmitted to Iran from the U.S. by way of the Swiss.

For its part, the U.S. shifted from conciliation to aggression in trying to win the hostages' release. Its responses were dictated not only by traditional international strategy, which called for quiet diplomacy designed to isolate and embarrass Iran, but also by domestic politics, pressure from David Rockefeller, and by Zbigniew Brzezinski's power fantasies.

In November, the U.S. froze \$8 billion in Iranian assets, an unprecedented and dangerous move dictated partly by Rockefeller's fears that Iran would refuse to pay the balance of the \$1.3 billion in loans that Chase Manhattan had illegally negotiated with the Shah. (*In These Times*, July 2.) But the December Soviet invasion of Afghanistan convinced the U.S. that it should appeal to Iranian fears of Soviet imperialism and quiet diplomacy resumed—and almost succeeded—in February and March. With his political popularity fading, however, Carter again resorted to the stick. He broke diplomatic relations, embargoed trade, and on April 25 sent in a commando unit to rescue the hostages.

The unsuccessful raid, combined with the trade embargo, confirmed the fears of the Iranian populace and leadership that the U.S. was planning a 1953-style coup. It isolated the "liberals" like Bani-Sadr and contributed to massive victories in the May parliamentary elections by the Islamic Republican Party. And it provided a pretext for Khomeini to go after the student left, which he accused of being American agents. (*In These Times*, May 21.) In short, Carter's tactics accelerated the right-wing clerical revolution that he claimed to oppose.

The Iraqi invasion.

After the hostage raid, the U.S. continued trying to destabilize the Iranian regime.

Continued on page 8



One major stumbling block to a diplomatic rapprochement is the U.S.'s history of unwavering support of the Shah.

Cover-up upheld

In May 1976, Margaret Hasselman, a 26-year-old lobby attendant in a Manhattan office building, was issued a new uniform—a red, white and blue “bicentennial poncho” that was completely open at the sides. Several winks, leers and lewd comments later, she asked her employer, the William Kaufman Organization, for permission to wear a blouse or tights underneath the poncho. The boss said no. So Hasselman switched back to her old, less revealing uniform, at which point, reports Jon Kalish, a New York broadcast journalist, she was told to either put on the poncho or “get off the floor.”

Off the floor and into the courts, where Hasselman won support from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in a sex discrimination suit against the Kaufman Organization. “Our theory,” said Merrick Rossein, one of her attorneys, “was that she wouldn’t have been forced to wear a revealing uniform if she were a man.” And in perhaps the first federal court decision finding provocative work uniforms to be a form of harassment, New York district judge Robert Ward ordered Kaufman to pay Hasselman more than \$30,000 in back wages.

Judge Ward was unmoved by the employer’s argument that in dressing up his workers, he was merely exercising his First Amendment right to express himself artistically. Said the judge: Hasselman’s boss “made acquiescence to sexual harassment a prerequisite of her employment.”

Communism averted

There was a short period of relief from the general tedium of the Illinois State AFL-CIO’s recent twenty-third annual convention when Resolution No. 81 reached the floor for debate. Submitted by Roberta Wood, an unemployed delegate from Local 65 of the United Steelworkers of America, the resolution contained this controversial section: “Resolved: In cases of shut-down plants, the federal government should take over the plant and run it through an administrative committee made up of representatives of the workers, technicians and local business people, and run it to produce the steel our country needs and to keep steelworkers on the job.”

The proposal weathered charges that it was “the first step on the road to totalitarianism,” reports Service Employees International Union delegate Jonathan Rothstein, only to be overwhelmingly defeated in the floor vote. Still, Rothstein and Local 65 president Alice Peurala agree, the emergence of government takeovers as a matter of open debate was a hopeful sign for the future.

Cut! Print!

The video display terminals were buzzing again on the set of CBS-TV’s *Lou Grant* series. Star Ed Asner, who had been reluctant to follow other screen actors across American Federation of Musicians picket lines, didn’t have to. As Hollywood journalist Nicole Szulc explains it, the musicians realized that the sooner all the shows approach completion, the sooner the producers will feel a pressing need to lay on the musical tracks.... The San Francisco Mime Troupe, whose members can satirize and juggle at the same time, just spent two weeks performing in Cuba as guests of the government. Touring through both Havana and the countryside, the troupe did translated and adapted versions of *Hotel Universe*, which has already played in Europe and the U.S., and *Squash*, a production now making its way across California.... By the time the final curtain dropped at the second annual Independent Feature Film Market in New York, ten days of reeling and dealing had dislodged \$750,000 from willing wallets. This was a big step forward, in terms of both distribution and funding, for independent filmmakers; gross sales from last year’s event were only \$200,000. Among this year’s contented were Rob Nillson and John Hanson (*Northern Lights*), who sold a script entitled *Red Ghosts*, about life choices facing women in a Minnesota mining town, to Belgian TV.... Check your public TV station on Monday evening, Nov. 17, for signs of *Free Voice of Labor: The Jewish Anarchists*, the latest independent documentary to surface on PBS (*In These Times*, June 18).... And this just in: Jim Rinnert, playwright/producer as well as *In These Times*’ ace typesetter, has won a special “Jeff” award from Chicago’s Joseph Jefferson Award Committee for “extraordinary achievement” in his production, earlier this year, of *The Artaud Project*, a media/stage piece dealing with the life of French drama theorist Antonin Artaud. (The “Jeff” is the Chicago equivalent of Broadway’s “Tony.”)

—Josh Kornbluth

Funnel news clips and other items of interest to “In Short,” c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60622.

Noam Chomsky was among conference participants who criticized U.S. press coverage of East Timor.

U.S. activists try to break silence on East Timor

NEW YORK—“East Timor is where the world’s worst war—in terms of the percentage of the population killed—is now raging,” said Admiral Gene LaRoque of the Center for Defense Information. It is also the site of widespread starvation and disease. Yet most Americans have scarcely heard of this island in the Pacific Ocean. “In contrast to the news coverage given to problems in Cambodia,” noted Noam Chomsky, “the American media have largely maintained silence about East Timor,” which Indonesia invaded in 1975 with American arms and tacit approval.

Chomsky and 200 other activists met in New York last week for a two-day conference sponsored by the Asian Center to coincide with the opening of the annual UN debate on East Timor in the Decolonization Committee.

Scholars reported that at least one-third of the 600,000 native Maubere people have died since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony. Recent refugees say that defoliants now are causing extensive crop failures. “In November 1979, the food situation was worse than Biafra,” said Arnold Kohen of the Washington-based East Timor Research Center. Food aid now finally has been allowed to enter the territory, but Indonesia still does not permit international agencies to oversee its distribution.

“Some aid programs help the Indonesians more than the Timorese,” said James Dunn, an Australian diplomat. “The food goes to soldiers short on rations. Or the military sells the supplies to the natives.”

But despite their monopoly of food aid and their U.S. arms supplies, the 30,000 Indonesian troops have not been able to defeat the 3,000 soldiers fielded by Fretilin, the East Timorese Liberation Front. In fact, East Timor is fast becoming Indonesia’s Vietnam. “Indonesian soldiers do not know our mountainous terrain,” said Jose Ramos-Horta, Fretilin’s representative to the UN, “and they face a hostile population.” Some Indonesian troops reportedly try to avoid tours of duty in East Timor. According to Ben Anderson, a Cornell scholar, “Officers have been attacked by their men.”

In September, Portugal, the for-

mer colonial ruler, urged the U.S., Indonesia and other countries to confer about the territory’s future, raising cautious hopes of a negotiated political settlement. The call for talks is believed to reflect Fretilin’s success in lining up diplomatic support from Brazil and the newly independent Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa. “We believe that Mozambique and others quietly encouraged Portugal to make this move,” said Ramos-Horta.

Conference participants agreed that the U.S. role is crucial for any ceasefire effort, since it supplies arms to Indonesia, ostensibly because the country is a major oil producer. But as two speakers pointed out, only 6 percent of American oil now comes from Indonesia.

Congress has already held several hearings on East Timor, though it is hardly ready to cut off military assistance to Indonesia. This year the House approved humanitarian aid and emigration rights for the Timorese, but defeated a stronger resolution, sponsored by Rep. Tom Harkin of Iowa, that called for self-determination for East Timor and the withdrawal of Indonesian troops.

But the activists are not discouraged. “We’re beginning to create doubts now about the U.S. position in the highest government circles,” said anthropologist Richard Franke. “This is an important time in which we can have an impact.”

—Joanna Foley

Leftists recall McCarthy days

On the weekend of Oct. 18 and 19, more than 700 people met in Berkeley, Calif., to consider the postwar assault on the American left known as McCarthyism. Most of the speakers and many members of the audience were veterans of those days, but many others were too young to have experienced it.

The two-day event, entitled “Are You Now or Have You Ever Been...?”, celebrated the 15th anniversary of the Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute, a library in Berkeley of material relating to human

rights law that was founded by attorney Ann Fagan Ginger.

Among the speakers were several survivors of the period, including Cedric Belfrage, Alvah Bessie, Myles Horton, Ann Braden, Len DeCaux and Tillie Olsen.

Through all the crowded meetings there was a remarkably high level of agreement among the panelists and the many people who spoke from the audience. It was as if they were trying to recreate an experience they had all gone through together, each person adding something to the composite picture. The effect was two full days of immersion in the history of the American left in the 10 years following World War II.

According to its organizers, the symposium had three aims: to supplement the historical record, to reunite the survivors and to provide information on past political oppression. The first two were successfully achieved.

Survivors were reunited during and between sessions. At lunch the crowded lobbies, hallways and front steps of Finnish Hall were a hubbub of animated conversations. On Saturday night a high-spirited fund-raising banquet drew some 570, mostly older people.

The third aim, however, was more elusive. How political oppression worked was thoroughly discussed. The variety of techniques used to deprive people of rights and jobs was made movingly clear. But the implications for today were left largely unexplored. Why the attacks on the left of the late ‘40s and ‘50s worked so well and why they subsided were never really explained. People who came to political consciousness through a prolonged and successful struggle against the war in southeast Asia might still have asked, as they made their way out through the farewell handshakes and embraces on the steps of Finnish Hall late Sunday afternoon, why these strong and courageous people were so vulnerable. What about a left, thriving through more than a decade of political influence and popular legitimacy, made it so unable to defend itself?

Many speakers argued that the U.S. found itself at the end of the war in a position to dominate a world in ruins, to rebuild it according to corporate interests and then police it. The public’s war weariness and its receptiveness to left ideas were impediments to this grand design, various speakers said, adding that it was necessary to intimidate and discredit the left in order to achieve militant conformity.

Elaborated versions of this basic thesis were offered many times during the symposium. But no attempt was made to explain how things changed, or how they could have changed. “They” needed oppression after the war, and the victims just sort of toughed it out until finally “they” eased up and things got better and the victims were vindicated. Heroic endurance seemed the only lesson to be learned from the experience of McCarthyism.

On Sunday afternoon, Ann Braden of the Southern Organizing Committee attempted an explanation. She told the audience, “It was basically the civil rights movement, or perhaps more accurately, the black liberation movement—which was joined ultimately by many white people who saw that this was their struggle, too—that broke the pall of the 1950s and was the beginning of the end of what we call the McCarthy period.”

—Thomas F.K. Howard

ABORTION



The Midwest Population Center must now negotiate each abortion fee, starting at \$200.

A cruel new tax on the poor

By Ronni Scheier

THERE WON'T BE A BABY BOOM now that public funding for abortion is cut off. Most indigent women deprived of public subsidies abort rather than give birth to unwanted children.

A few go to illegal "back-alley" abortionists and a handful resort to hangers and knitting needles. But most borrow, scrimp, even steal, to finance the procedure, at considerable cost to themselves and their families. Their alternative is to give birth to children they will be hard-put to support in a period of rising inflation and shrinking public aid.

These are the findings of a new study by *The Chicago Reporter*, an investigative monthly on racial issues, into the impact of laws to restrict abortion funding in Illinois.

In 1978, both Congress and the Illinois legislature had voted to restrict funding of abortions through the Medicaid program. The *Reporter* study calculated that about 20,114 Illinois Medicaid recipients would have been expected to obtain publicly-subsidized abortions in 1978 had funding been readily available. Faced with obstacles to funding, however, only 17,400 women enrolled in Medicaid actually had abortions. Moreover, the study estimated, about 8,430 had to pay for the operation themselves.

The remaining 2,700 women expected to have abortions carried their pregnancies to term. Their childbirth costs were reimbursed by Medicaid.

Thus, 86.5 percent of those expected to have publicly-funded abortions in 1978 did, indeed, manage to get the operation, nearly half by financing it privately. The remaining 13.5 percent gave birth instead. The *Reporter's* estimates used published state data.

The study refers to a period when some public subsidies for "medically-necessary" abortions were still available in Illinois. However, last June the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Hyde Amendment, which bars federal funding for Medicaid abortions in the "medically necessary" category. On Sept. 30, Congress passed a new Hyde Amendment even more restrictive than the one upheld by the Supreme Court. In its wake, Illinois has implemented a law that prohibits state funding of Medicaid abortions except to save a mother's life. And the president of the Cook County Board has ordered a halt to the 3,000 subsidized abortions performed at public Cook County Hospital each year.

Nationally, federally-funded abortions under Medicaid fell from 295,000 in fiscal 1977 to about 2,000 in fiscal 1978, following enactment of the original Hyde Amendment. Nine states and the District of Columbia now voluntarily fund abortions. But efforts are underway in some of these states to change liberal funding laws.

Consequently, the actual impact of the Hyde Amendment on poor women in Illinois and other states may be more serious than the *Reporter* study indicates. Studies in three other states predict that with the Hyde Amendment firmly in place, between 20 and 35 percent of women anticipated to obtain publicly-subsidized abortions will give birth instead.

The Alan Guttmacher Institute—a research affiliate of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America—and Princeton University's Office of Population Research, examined statistics in Ohio and Georgia, where all Medicaid funds for abortion had been cut off in 1978. Without funding, the rate of abortions among Medicaid recipients dropped 23 percent in Ohio and 18 percent in Georgia. In Michigan, where the state continued to finance abortions after the federal cutoff, abortions decreased by six-tenths of 1 percent.

In another 1978 study, the federal

Center for Disease Control found the abortion rate among Medicaid recipients in Texas declined 35 percent when both state and federal subsidies were eliminated.

The patterns traced by these studies may shift, warns James Trussell, associate professor of economics and public affairs at Princeton and a faculty associate of the Office of Population Research. "Over time, there will be more births to Medicaid-eligible women," he predicts. "It's going to get harder and harder and harder for people to keep coming up with the money."

Clinics back off.

The walls at the Midwest Population Center are painted in bright primary hues, the floors neatly carpeted and each room hung with framed modern prints. The abortion clinic off fashionable North Michigan Avenue in Chicago is the only not-for-profit abortion clinic in Illinois. It negotiates reductions of its \$200 fee with each low-income patient.

"Two hundred dollars! That's my food money for a whole month!" exclaims Brenda Jones (not her real name). Jones, a black public aid recipient with six children, agreed to pay \$150. It took her a week to raise the money. "I don't know what I would have done if I didn't have some good friends and relatives," she

says. "I wouldn't have done it myself—I'm too timid. I probably would have had the kid." But the money, hard as it will be to repay, "wasn't anything compared to having to feed and clothe another kid for 18 years," she says.

Jones, like three-fourths of Illinois Medicaid recipients, is enrolled in the state's Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. Some 71 percent of AFDC adults in Illinois are non-white women, nearly half under age 25.

The average Chicago AFDC family of four lives on \$350 per month, plus food stamps, Medicaid and some social services. While the cost of living has climbed 58.8 percent since 1975, public aid grants in Illinois have increased 10 percent.

A few clinics offer small discounts to indigent women. But rarely is the price less than \$150.

"Women will go to extraordinary means to raise the money," says Elizabeth Mooney, director of client services at Planned Parenthood Association-Chicago Area.

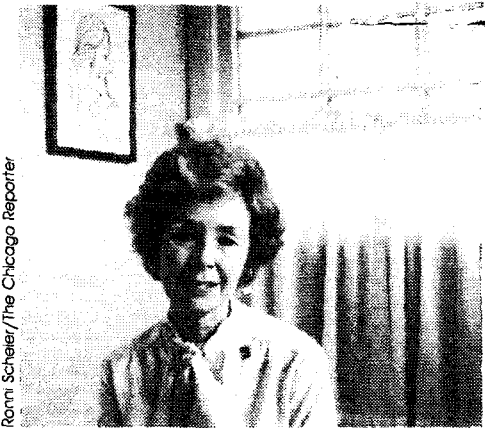
Sometimes the means are sacrificing other necessities for themselves and their children. "When you see a woman with two little kids hanging on her skirt and she says, 'I'll get the money—I'll take it out of next month's food budget,' you know what's going to happen," Mooney says. "Those kids are not going to have enough to eat."

In other cases, the means may be illegal—such as petty theft or prostitution. "I'll lie flat on my back to get the money if I have to, because I want my daughter to go back to school," one distraught South Side mother of a pregnant 16-year-old told an abortion referral service worker.

In the time it takes a woman to raise the money, the abortion's risk to her health rises dramatically, according to a study published in 1979 by the federal Center for Disease Control. "For each week of delay, the risk of complications after legally induced abortion increases approximately 20 percent; the risk of death increases approximately 40 percent," the study states.

Failure to have an abortion considered

Continued on page 8



Rosemary Diamond, head of "Birth-right" in Chicago, says that about a third of her calls are from poor women seeking low-cost abortions. Instead they get anti-abortion "counseling" and used baby clothes.

Courts uphold Congress

The Hyde Amendment has a tangled legal history.

Court rulings blocked its enforcement for nearly 17 months of the years since it was first passed in 1976 as a rider to an appropriations bill for the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The amendment affects recipients of Medicaid, a federal-state health care program for the poor. Medicaid began to fund abortions after the U.S. Supreme Court legalized abortion in 1973.

The first Hyde Amendment, sponsored by Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.), barred federal abortion funding through Medicaid except when pregnancy endangered the woman's life. Implemented Oct. 1, 1976, it was enjoined three weeks later by U.S. District Judge John F. Dooling in Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dooling lifted his injunction Aug. 4, 1977, in response to a Supreme Court decision in two other cases. The high court ruled that states need not fund abortions considered "elective" as opposed to "medically necessary."

Meanwhile, Congress in 1977 had passed a revised version of the Hyde Amendment. It added funding for abortions in two categories: those performed after promptly reported rape or incest (interpreted to mean reported within 60 days), and those necessary to prevent long-lasting physical health damage to the woman. This version remained in effect until October 1978, when Congress dropped the "health damage" provision.

On Jan. 15, 1980, following a lengthy trial, Judge Dooling ruled that the Hyde Amendment violated the constitutional rights of poor women. He ordered resumption of federal funding for "medically-necessary" abortions.

The Supreme Court reversed this ruling June 30. Nearly 300 civil rights and women's groups signed a petition asking the court to reconsider, but the justices refused and the Hyde Amendment went back into force Sept. 22.

On Sept. 30, Congress passed a new Hyde Amendment, this time attached to a federal appropriations bill. Under the

latest measure, the federal government will fund Medicaid abortions only to save a mother's life, in cases of rape reported within 72 hours and in cases of incest. The law permits states to pass still more restrictive abortion funding legislation.

Following the latest round of events, both pro- and anti-abortion activists are focusing their attention on Congress and the state legislatures.

The National Right to Life Committee, based in Washington with 1,800 state chapters, spends about three-fourths of its \$650,000 budget on lobbying efforts, according to its legislative director, Charles A. Donovan. Its goal is to obtain a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion.

The Washington-based National Abortion Rights Action League, with 80,000 members and a \$1.7 million budget, raised \$250,000 this year to support "pro-choice" candidates in 41 states.

Spokeswoman Marguerite Beck-Rex says NARAL aims to "show how abortion has been pulled into the political arena, even though it is a personal matter. Unfortunately, the only way we can get it out of the political arena is to get into politics ourselves."

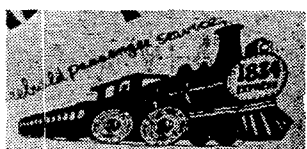
—Ronni Scheier



While U.S. policy has channeled massive subsidies to highway travel, firms that supply the railroads have suffered from low and unpredictable demand.

Crazy logic dictates Pullman closing

By David Moberg



IN 1859 CABINET maker George Pullman made his first two sleeping cars for the Chicago & Alton railroad. By next year the last passenger car will roll out of the Chicago and Hammond, Ind., plants of Pullman, Inc. At a time when the energy crisis, environmental problems, deterioration of the central city and congestion of the highways all point toward the need for a dramatic increase in railroad service between cities and "light rail" (trolley-like) mass transit systems within cities, Pullman is pulling out of the passenger car building business, leaving behind only one much smaller American manufacturer, Budd Company (which is owned by Thyssen, a German steel firm).

John Bowman thinks that's crazy. The new president of Local 1834 of the United Steelworkers, called the Eugene V. Debs local in honor of the socialist leader's role in the famous 1894 strike at Pullman, Bowman campaigned for his office on a promise to fight to save the 1,800 or more jobs at stake in the two plants. The union wants, first of all, to pressure Pullman to stay in the passenger car business (it will continue its freight car production after it is absorbed by Wheelabrator-Frye, the company that won the right to buy out Pullman in a recently concluded takeover battle). If that's not possible, and it seems very unlikely, the union wants to find another owner. And, failing that, they believe the federal government should take over the plant. Since 80 percent of the mass transit car money comes from federal funds (and the rest from local public authorities) and all of the money for intercity cars comes from federally supported Amtrak, the public and its money are already deeply linked to the fate of

the Pullman plants.

"Pullman has demonstrated that they don't give a damn about the worker, and they don't give a damn about what the country needs," says Bowman, his union jacket emblazoned with the cartoon emblem of the Save Our Jobs committee—a picture of a locomotive with the Steelworkers' symbol as wheels and the slogans, "Keep Mass Transit Rolling/Rebuild Passenger Service/1834 Express/Save Our Jobs." "Pullman only cares about profit. They're not going to export our tax dollars to buy cars but also export our jobs. The answer to the energy crisis is not John Anderson's 50-cents-a-gallon gas tax. The answer is to rebuild the mass transit system."

Although hopes have been rising that Kawasaki, the Japanese manufacturer best known here for its motorcycles, will find the American partner it wants and will buy the plants, Bowman continues to argue for nationalization as a last recourse. At the recent Illinois AFL-CIO meeting, the local tacked on their nationalization proposal to a "Buy American" resolution that passed overwhelmingly.

"Pullman supplies Amtrak," Bowman reasons. "Amtrak pays the freight anyway. They might as well keep us on the job, come in and take it over. Companies ship here from overseas, and the people yell about imports. If Pullman won't do it, then we have to. When the country is in the shape it's in, somebody has got to take the national interest to heart."

So far the local has managed to stir up some support among two powerful politicians, Rep. Adam Benjamin and Sen. Birch Bayh, both of Indiana and, very fortunately, heads of the House and Senate transportation subcommittees. Although the local has done little in the seven months since the Save Our Jobs campaign started to enlist community support beyond circulating a petition, the committee members see a broader base of interest in keeping the plants open than just their own members. Not only are lo-

cal businesses worried about the impact of the closing, but workers in the many steel mills in the area—including those in the recently closed Wisconsin Steel mill close to Pullman's Chicago factory—have a stake in rebuilding the nation's railroads and expanding mass transit. But there is a strong national interest as well.

Decades of decline.

For nearly three decades the passenger railroad and urban rail transit industries limped along in the U.S. The market was small and orders were erratic, leading to employment insecurity for car builders and higher overhead and diseconomies of scale for the companies. The federal highway system and urban expressways subsidized and encouraged car, bus and truck traffic, which in turn sustained tendencies to urban sprawl and less dense population. Airlines also flourished with public assistance. Railroads saw freight-hauling as a money-maker and cut back passenger service and car orders. Moreover, they built bigger freight cars, which moved more slowly. That, in turn, led them to change the geometry of the rails to suit the lower speeds and higher freight-hauling profits. But it slowed down and generally degraded the passenger service and left the roadbeds and rails in rotten shape today for passenger traffic.

With low and unpredictable demand, the passenger car industry stagnated. "Manufacturers faced a declining market for decades and haven't put much money into technology and new productive facilities," Joseph Schofer, director of research at Northwestern University's Transportation Center, said. "Quality of technology is higher and the cost no higher—or lower—in Europe." As a result, European manufacturers in recent years have offered stiff competition. The erosion of passenger rail and mass transit as a result of dozens of independent decisions to maximize profits was aided, not countered, by government

policy.

Shifts of emphasis took place within the train-building industry, too. Pullman, for example, acquired two engineering divisions that build large oil, petrochemical and fertilizer facilities and make much higher profits than the smaller rail division. It also became the nation's second largest manufacturer of truck trailers and diverted much of its capital and managerial talent into railroad's competition. With diversification of the corporation, the top management was no longer railroad-oriented and the traditional pursuits atrophied.

In the early '70s, there was a flurry of interest in mass transit. It seemed that there might be a new public commitment to railroads and urban trains. Some aerospace companies entered the field along with the longstanding companies, such as Pullman. But many of these companies soon were losing money on their contracts. Demand was still erratic, and the companies or the new workers they hired were often inexperienced. Many of the contracts were written in a way that squeezed the producers when inflation rates soared.

Because of the long stagnation of the industry, it was difficult for the general builders—such as Pullman, Rohr, Boeing-Vertol and St. Louis Car Company, all of which have now ceased passenger car production—to find subcontractors who could deliver quality products on time. Also, nearly every order was different, and during the course of production hundreds of changes in design often had to be made. The delays not only brought penalties but also increased the overhead from inventories and interest payments. (The problems even continued after completion of the orders: New York City has sued Pullman for \$112.3 million in damages for delivering faulty transit cars.)

Much of the fault lay with American business management. "In the research and development of rail passenger cars,

we're an underdeveloped country," Fletcher Prouty, senior director of public affairs for Amtrak and a former banker, said. European transit experts tell him they're shocked at how out-of-date American passenger car factories and their managers are. Workers at Pullman especially blame management for the delays and costly revisions in construction. "You know what you're doing is wrong and the foreman knows it is wrong, but he says, 'Do it anyway, that's all the work I've got,'" George Terrell, editor of the Local 1834 newspaper, said. "The next week they have someone else do it over." Also, the company signed contracts that did not provide for first building prototype cars, and reaching agreement on design. Instead, it rushed into production and made thousands of changes along the way. The 1975 Amtrak order for 284 cars from Pullman was to be delivered within two years. It still isn't finished.

But the companies alone can't be blamed. The lack of a clear, coherent, well-funded federal program exacerbated the industry's difficulties. And there have been problems coordinating federal plans, local agencies and private firms. Amtrak, for example, needs to develop new, higher-speed tracks to serve the principal corridors between major urban centers that offer an opportunity to increase rail traffic significantly. Without the change of track, high-quality European firms are reluctant to enter the U.S. market. "They won't put their fine cars on our horrible track," Prouty says. But, he notes, "there's a fundamental barrier. All our track is owned by private companies, and a lot of them don't want to see passenger business on their tracks."

Now, however, there are solid prospects for a strong passenger car market—but only one, foreign-owned American firm producing for it. The Budd plant, which has the capacity to produce about 245 cars annually, has a large backlog. Yet mass transit and rail funding is increasing, in part as a result of the windfall profits tax on oil that is supposed to provide \$13 billion for mass transit over 10 years, starting with \$1 billion—or a 25 percent increase in funding from general revenues—for the current year. The federal budget provides for 500 rail cars per year, and other estimates of likely purchases run even higher—from 10,000 cars to as many as 30,000 cars over the coming decade. Who will produce them?

Ironically, in 1978 Congress passed a buy-American requirement for mass transit vehicles after foreign firms won several contracts. (Amtrak already had its own buy-American requirement.) The U.S. rail car firms had not even actively competed for some of those orders. Now, a Government Accounting Office study concludes, "It may be diffi-

cult...to implement a preference for U.S. manufactured products, which the provision was intended to establish, if only one U.S. firm is willing to bid."

Congress is now deliberating a proposal to increase the definition of substantially American-made from over 50 percent to over 70 percent. Although this could lead, as the current law does to some extent, to foreign firms setting up subsidiary operations in the U.S., it could also lead to companies underbidding by a sufficient amount to escape



from the buy-American clause, as the law allows when the bid is more than 10 percent below the lowest American bid. But is it peculiar, to say the least, that despite buy-American legislation, no American corporations are willing to enter the field.

Weighing all the factors.

In many instances, trains make sense for passenger traffic over distances of about 500 miles or within fairly dense cities (if light rail, trolley-style systems are used instead of more costly heavy-rail subways the density of population needed to support the system drops significantly and most of the new federally-financed rail transit systems are of this type). Estimates on fuel efficiencies vary, but trains are two to three times as efficient as cars for intercity traffic, although intercity buses are, by most accounts, more energy-efficient than trains. But trains have other advantages over buses: they can be run much faster and provide better service and, if electrified, they can reduce dependence on oil (and gain in energy efficiency).

The most important evaluation, though, must be made not bit-by-bit but rather of the entire transportation system. That, in turn, requires even more systematic planning of patterns of work and residence, of land use in cities and of styles of living. Shofer of Northwestern argues that from a short-term viewpoint buses are more economical than urban trains, but he acknowledges that for the most energy-efficient urban area it makes sense to rebuild the central city and develop dense corridors along train

routes. By moving to trains, "you could achieve some very significant efficiencies [perhaps 25 percent energy savings vs. 5 to 10 percent savings through expanding a bus system], but you're talking about changing the nature of the political system and lifestyles," he said. "To achieve that change would take a massive confrontation with vested interests."

Passenger rail systems, contrary to popular opinion, can be profitable. Prouty maintains that most European rail systems make more than their operating

Whoever comes in, the local union leaders insist that management stop treating workers as "know-nothings." "They have to end that hard-nosed attitude," recording secretary Rey Robles said. "One thing that would help productivity is to treat workers not as a liability, but as an asset."

More than many factory shutdowns, the Pullman decision accentuates the social irrationality of the private pursuit of profit-maximization and the need, especially in areas like transportation, for

expenses but are saddled with other costs, and even many Amtrak lines are profitable. But it may make sense in order to lessen dependence on oil and on the automobile—thereby reducing congestion and increasing real mobility—to run rail systems even at a loss in the public interest. Other transportation systems are subsidized by the government already.

The sheer irrationality of the situation frustrates the union leaders at Pullman, but it also gives them confidence that somebody will see the light and save their jobs. "We're already using our tax dollars to pay for the [passenger] cars and besides we need them for the energy crisis," Save Our Jobs co-chair Joe Ward said. "So you've got two heavy arguments. What's the alternative—ship the tax dollars to Japan to build cars? It [nationalization] is Mom and Dad and apple pie."

Not everybody agreed, even within the local. Bowman and his group began their fight in 1978 when they discovered that the union's leadership was embezzling as much as \$130,000 from the strike fund during the midst of a long strike over work rules and the union's right to strike. The union was put under an administratorship by the international union. The treasurer was convicted and sent to jail.

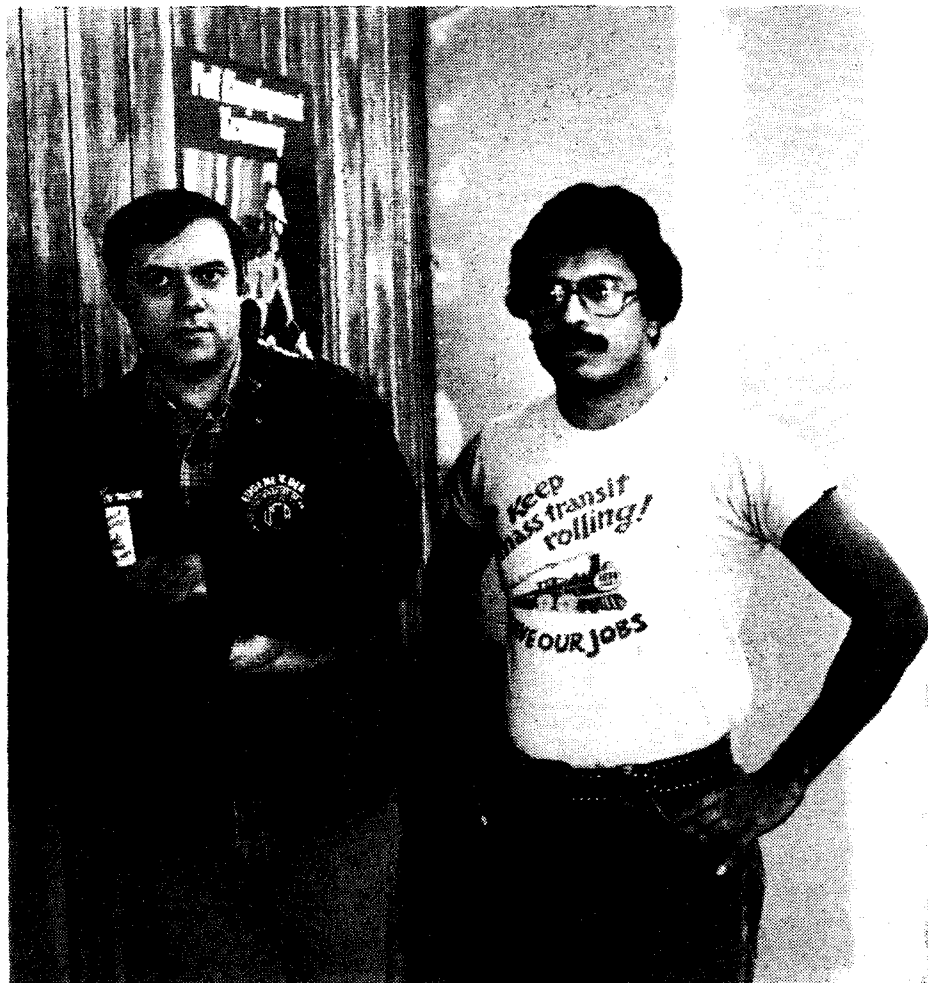
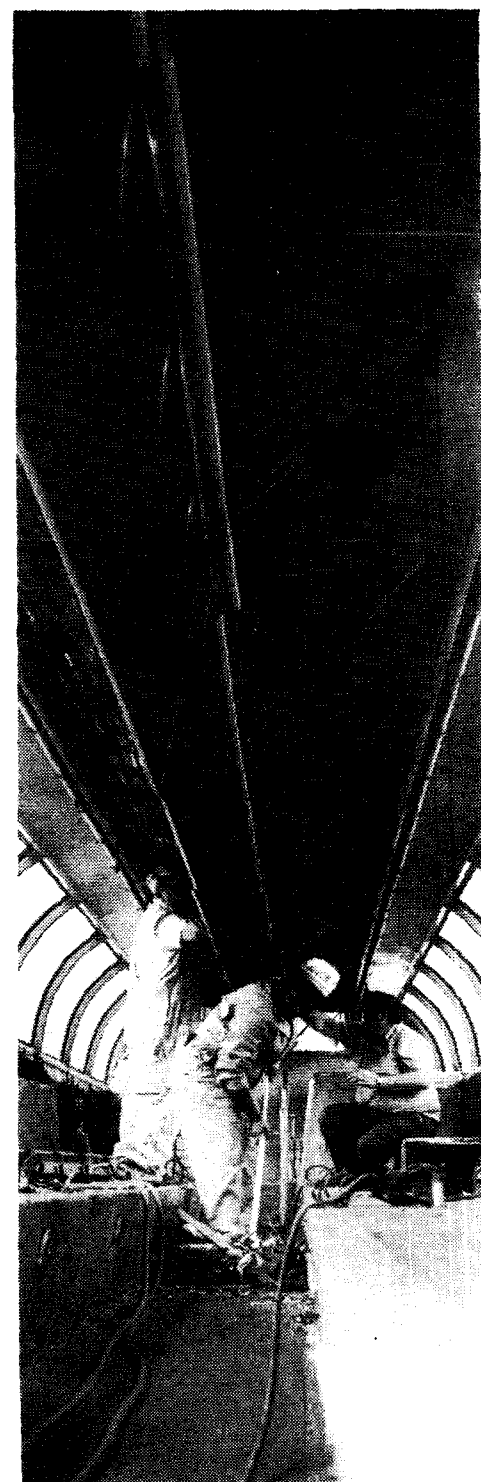
But Bowman, who had been an active supporter of insurgent Ed Sadlowski, had to take the international to court to force an election that the international union had canceled. Then, in an unusual move, nominations were reopened for the president's position only, permitting the other slate to drop their discredited former president (who the international union had previously tried to reinstate despite the embezzlement). Bowman's slate, backed mainly by the newer, younger workers, won 15 of 17 positions, despite redbaiting from the opposition, which argued that nothing could be done to save the local's jobs. Despite an election challenge, later rejected by the Labor Department, Bowman took office on February 29 and immediately began the campaign to save jobs and to restore morale among the local union members.

They tried to link up with steelworkers in Youngstown, Ohio, but, unlike those workers, they regarded worker ownership as a last resort. "In terms of whose responsibility it is, nationalization of the plant is more feasible," Terrell argues. "It's a lot of capital for workers to get together." Also, as Ward said, "There was a whole lot of hesitation about being the boss."

But if Kawasaki or another firm does not buy the plant, it is unclear what the federal government will do. "We'd hate to see that facility shut down," Amtrak's Prouty said. "It's our last hope. Or, it's the place where we could start a new system." But Amtrak doesn't want to take it over. They claim their charter wouldn't permit it and they don't have the expertise in that area. And, as one congressional staff person observed, "They thought it would be difficult to convince this president—or any other—that the government should take over a sector of private enterprise."

coordinated planning by government at all levels not only of transportation systems in a narrow sense but also of the shape of the city in an era of costly energy. "Once you tell the story—the energy crisis, the last American-owned corporation, I haven't met anyone who wasn't amazed," Bowman said.

But time is growing short. Layoffs have already started, and local union officials expect most workers to be dismissed by next spring. The passing of Pullman, a classic industrial corporation, could be taken as a sign of the new era of a multinational, conglomerate American capitalism, with even less sense of national interest. The workers at Pullman would like to think that their attempt to save the plant and protect the public interest could be as historically significant to the future labor movement as the fight between the workers in the company town with Debs on their side and the paternalistic, autocratic George Pullman was in another, quite different epoch.



John Bowman and Rey Robles are part of the new union leadership that is fighting to keep the passenger car plant open—even if that means a government takeover.

Iran

Continued from page 3

ime. "The administration now seems to be touting the idea that internal political disintegration in Iran will produce an end to the crisis," a *Chicago Tribune* special report explained. The CIA funded anti-Khomeini broadcasts from Iraq by Shapour Bakhtiar and the Shah's Tehran military head, Gen. Gholan Ali Oveissi. There were also reports of growing rapprochement between the U.S. and Iraq, which since 1978 has been feuding with the Soviet Union.

At the beginning of Iraq's invasion, there were some signs of American complicity, from the U.S. dispatch of AWACs to Saudi Arabia and the initial American declaration of "neutrality" to American pressure on the Israelis not to protest Iraqi use of Jordan's airspace. According to *The Economist*, the American ambassador "explained to Mr. Begin that Israel's willingness to let the Iraqi aircraft operate unmolested between Jordan and Iraq would serve American interests in the region."

At the outset of the war, the Iranian press took these hints of complicity one step further and identified Iraq as an American agent. The daily *Islamic Republic* described the war as "the war between Iran and the United States on its western borders."

But at the same time, the U.S. also initiated new conciliatory moves through Secretary of State Edmund Muskie. On Aug. 20, Muskie wrote the new prime minister, Ali Rajai, to pledge future American non-intervention in Iran and to offer an indirect apology for past American actions. Muskie later indicated that the U.S. would accept an international tribunal that would investigate U.S.-Iranian ties during the Shah's regime.

In August, Ghotbzadeh, who remains a close Khomeini advisor, sent a letter to the Iranian parliament calling for the release of the hostages in September. Ghotbzadeh argued that the continued holding of the hostages was isolating Iran internationally, to the benefit of the Soviet Union, depriving Iran of needed trade, and might help the "Reagan-Rockefeller clique" defeat the more moderate Carter in November.

In September, Khomeini announced his own set of conditions for the hostages' release, which omitted entirely an American apology. The U.S. sent Khomeini a conciliatory reply.

The Iraqi invasion catalyzed support in Iran for the hostages' release. It did not merely create a need for embargoed military supplies from the U.S. It also



Bani-Sadr's conciliatory position on the hostages has gained wide support since the Iraqi invasion.

raised in the starkest manner the political isolation that Ghotbzadeh had earlier warned against. "It's this hostage business that has in large part contributed to isolating us on the world scene, thereby encouraging Iraq's aggression, which no country in the world has condemned," Bani-Sadr advisor and former UN representative Mansour Farhang told *Le Monde's* Eric Rouleau.

In early October, the Iranian leadership made clear that they would not turn to the Soviet Union to end their isolation. When Soviet ambassador Vladimir Vinogradov privately offered Prime Minister Rajai "assistance in all, including military, areas to Iran," Rajai restated the offer publicly and rejected it. "The independence of our Republic is more precious than anything you can give," Rajai said to the Soviets.

But given this perception of the Soviet Union, which was accentuated by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Iranian leaders are back to the same dilemma the Shah faced and tried to resolve by allying himself with the U.S. and Israel against the Soviet Union on one side and the Arab states on the other.

According to R.K. Ramazani, it is unlikely that Iran will soon fall back upon this solution. Ramazani discounts current rumors that Iran is being supplied with American military equipment by Israel through the Netherlands. Ramazani thinks that the Iranian leadership will follow Reza Shah's "third power strategy" and seek alliances with Western Europe against both the U.S. and USSR. But Ramazani and other Iranian experts agree that normalization of relations with the U.S. is imminent.

For its part, the U.S. has shown little indication during the past year that it

will countenance a non-aligned Iran. Its immediate response to the Iranian crisis was not to re-evaluate its imperial assumptions, but to seek the same relationship with the Saudi royal family that it had had with the Shah and to declare that it would intervene militarily in response to "any attempt by an outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region"—a threat that Arab countries interpreted to be aimed not merely against Soviet aggression but against internal upheavals and an Arab oil boycott as well.

In the face of such policies, the Iranian leaders will have difficulty pursuing a non-aligned course and the Persian Gulf will have difficulty avoiding still new wars and hostage crises.

Abortion

Continued from page 5

medically necessary, also poses health risks, experts say. Under the Hyde Amendment, a pregnancy must endanger the woman's life, not merely her health, for her to be eligible for federal abortion funding. But where "a condition poses a risk to health rather than life in the short term, the effect of pregnancy and childbirth is to accelerate the condition and, in many cases, to shorten the woman's life expectancy," says Dr. Richard Depp, director of the division of obstetrics and chairman of the Perinatal (high-risk pregnancy) Center at Prentice Women's Hospital and Maternity Center of Northwestern Memorial Hospital.

A few private funding pools have been established in the wake of the public fund cutoff. Planned Parenthood, for example, operates a "Justice Fund," which channels loan money to indigent women via local organizations. The Eleanor Roosevelt Institute recently donated \$100,000 to the fund, and the Field Foundation of New York contributed \$85,000. But "most of the 'pro-choice' dollars are being poured into the political process," Cynthia Little, former executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League of Illinois, explains.

The "pro-life" option.

"Pregnant? Need help? Call 233-0305" reads the tiny classified ad in the *Chicago Tribune*. It is placed daily by Birthright of Chicago, one of 471 "crisis centers" around the world "where any girl or woman distressed by an unwanted or untimely pregnancy may find help," according to a center brochure. Birthright is "based on the notion that every woman has the right to give birth and every child has the right to be born," the brochure states (emphasis theirs).

About a third of Birthright's calls are from low-income women who seek inexpensive abortions, says Rosemary Diamond, president of the 10-year-old center at the southwest tip of the city. "We try to get them to come in," she says. "We say we can help them, that there are options. No woman has to have an abortion because of any personal or fi-

nancial reasons."

Birthright offers nonprofessional counseling, pregnancy information and financial assistance in the form of donated baby clothing and furniture. But it has no resources to help a woman support her family after the new baby is born, Diamond explains.

"There is state support—public aid—for people who can't afford to have another child," she says.

"Public aid doesn't pay enough," contends Dovie Thurman, vice president of the Illinois Welfare Rights Coalition. "Too many kids end up being abandoned, or battered and abused."

The adoption dilemma.

Abandoned and unwanted children often find themselves in the hands of the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services (DCFS), which last month had 40 black infants waiting for homes. DCFS handles more adoptions than any other Illinois adoption agency. Last year, the department placed black babies under two years old in its "special needs" category of children for whom finding a home is particularly difficult.

While adoption agencies have long waiting lists of would-be adoptive parents of white children, there is a surplus of black infants without homes, says Gary T. Morgan, DCFS acting regional adoption coordinator.

He predicts that as many as 10 percent of the additional children born as a result of the public abortion funding cutoff will be given up for adoption.

Inflation has reduced the real income of public aid recipients, despite an increase of 5 percent granted by the Illinois General Assembly last June. The increase was the first since 1978, when aid payments were also upped 5 percent.

"There is a real hesitancy by the people who feel that most of their voters are middle class to spend money on programs they see as being for poor people," says State Rep. Susan K. Catania. "By and large, the legislators who want to prevent every woman from having an abortion are not the legislators who vote to give public aid recipients a cost of living increase or to fund day care programs or to give Cook County Hospital all the money it needs."

State Sen. Leroy Lemke, outspoken sponsor of anti-abortion legislation, voted against the public aid hike. He is also hesitant to boost social service spending. "First, I want to see that the Department of Public Aid comes up with some policing programs...to cut out some of the waste involved," he says.

Lemke and others see the solution to unwanted pregnancies in abstinence from sex before marriage. Others point to a need for better family planning services. A key target is teen-agers, who accounted for one-third of Medicaid abortions nationally in 1977.

According to a recent report by the U.S. General Accounting Office, family planning services "do prevent pregnancies for many low-income and adolescent women, but too many others...are not being served, are being served late, or are served ineffectually."

The problem is money, according to A.J. Kronman, executive director of the Illinois Family Planning Council, which administers public funds to 56 family planning centers. Funding has not kept pace with inflation, and "our agencies have been just stretching things as far as they can," he says.

Lemke argues that most voters in his West Side Chicago district don't support the dissemination of contraceptive information and devices, particularly to adolescents. "We should be teaching more morality in the schools, not less," he says.

Yet widespread sexual activity among the young and unmarried has become a fact of life. And many of the resulting pregnancies to indigent women will continue to be aborted, whatever the cost. Others will end in unwanted births, in a society increasingly reluctant to bear the economic burden of caring for its poor.

Ronni Scheier is a reporter specializing in health and welfare issues for *The Chicago Reporter*, in which this article first appeared in slightly different form.

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IN THE WORLD

EL SALVADOR

Tense anniversary for junta

By David Helvarg

SAN SALVADOR

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF the young officers' coup that brought El Salvador's ruling junta to power passed off relatively peacefully Oct. 15. But expanded guerrilla activity and a bogged-down army offensive in the northern mountains raised the very real possibility that the U.S.-backed military Christian Democratic junta won't be around to celebrate a second year.

In a small ceremony outside the capital, rightist junta member Colonel Jaime Gueterrez pledged constituent assembly and presidential elections in 1982 and '83. He also promised to reopen the university—occupied by the army in June—sometime in the near future. And finally, he offered an amnesty to the youth of the country who have joined the revolutionary guerrilla movement fighting to overthrow the current government.

Liberal junta member Colonel Adolfo Majano, who lost out in a power struggle with Gueterrez early in September,

pledged an end to human rights abuses. But that promise rang somewhat hollow in the light of recent stepped-up attacks on the church, the peasantry and the Salvadorean Human Rights Commission.

On Oct. 3, Human Rights Commission staff member Magdalena Henriquez was kidnapped while shopping near her home by 12 armed men driving Cherokee jeeps and carrying G-3 German automatic rifles (standard National Police equipment). Three days later her body was found 20 miles outside the capital. She had been raped, strangled and shot to death. In an interview two weeks earlier, Henriquez had told us that doing human rights work in Salvador was like walking a tightrope, "never knowing when you're going to fall off." In recent weeks commission members have been shot at, had their offices bombed and found dead bodies dumped on their doorstep. But Henriquez was the first staff member to be killed.

The church has also come in for a good deal of abuse recently with the September bombing of YSAX, the church radio station, the burning of a convent in the town of Guazapa and the bombing

of the archbishop's offices following the OAS evacuation Oct. 8.

In his Oct. 15 speech, Majano also pledged that more than 200 political prisoners now held by the government—prominent among them 17 leaders of CEL, the electrical workers union, who staged a nationwide blackout Aug. 22—would soon be brought to trial. In the wake of the blackout, the army seized the power plants and militarized the country's essential services.

But that has not cowed the workers in the power, transportation and communications sectors.

"Every time a soldier walks into our work area, we stand away from the boards and refuse to do anything until he leaves the room," says an international operator at ANTEL, the national phone company. "When the army first came in here in August we made it clear that if any one of our union leaders were to be killed or disappear, we'd shut down the entire phone system and destroy the lines. So far none of our people have been killed. We try to do what we can to undermine the system. Like when a foreign reporter wants to call out of the



country, we're supposed to dial 23-11-23, which is the military communications number where they tape-record the call. I never do that. I'm no follower of Carlos Marx or anything, understand. I just think there's a time when the people have to take a stand."

On Oct. 16, the day after Majano's pledge of speedy trials for the CEL prisoners, their lawyer was arrested in Soyopango and held on "suspicion of being in communication with subversives."

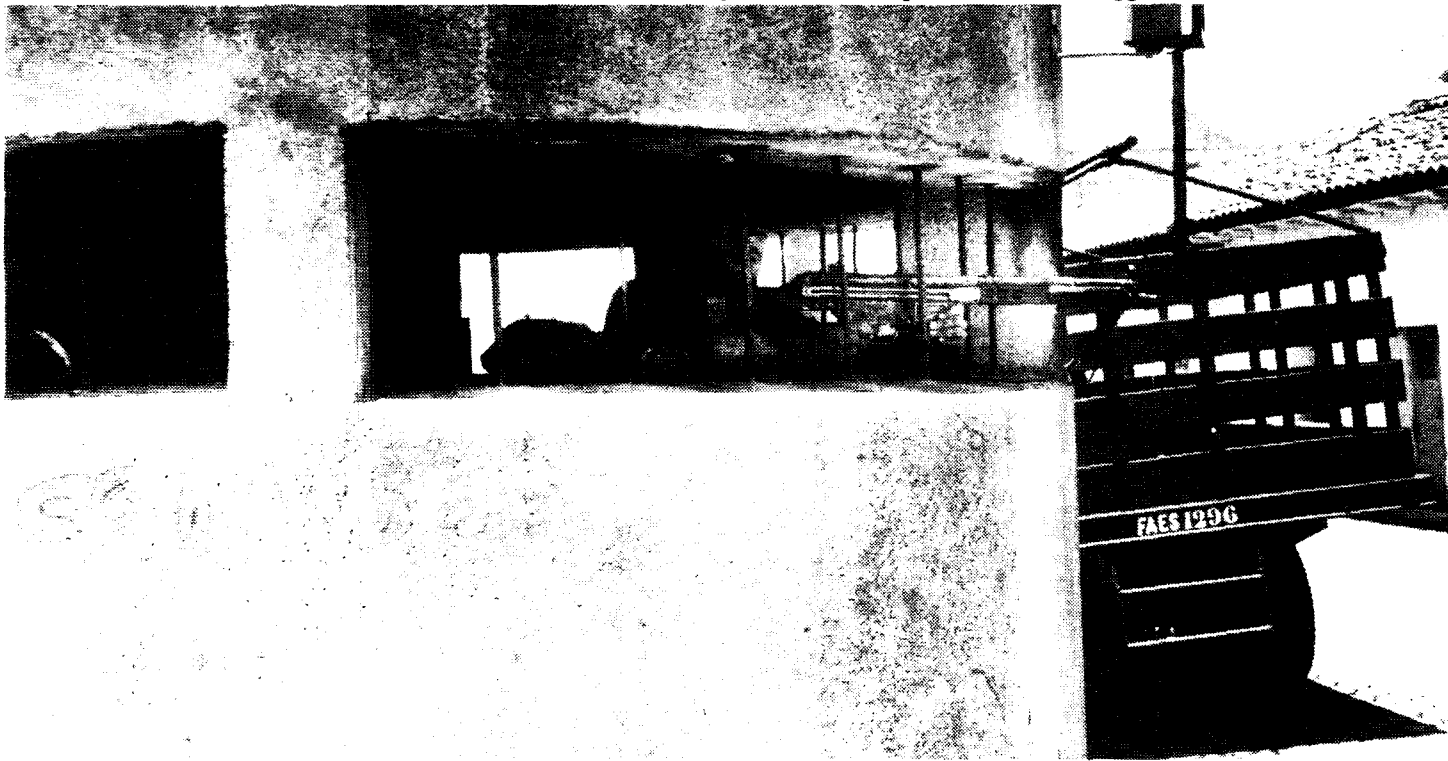
The left apparently decided to let the anniversary celebration pass without taking major action. Twenty-six people were reported killed as a result of political violence Wednesday, Oct. 15—an unexceptional 24-hour death toll.

While the junta was pledging new changes and predicting an end to the violence, the minister of health gave an indication of the real situation with the announcement that all small hospitals in the eastern part of the country would be shut down indefinitely for security reasons. Guerrillas of the newly consolidated FMLN (National Liberation Front—Farabundo Marti) have been raiding the hospitals, taking drugs and bandages for their wounded.

In the week following the anniversary, the army prevented reporters and the Red Cross from entering the northern mountains of Morazan where an army offensive involving several thousand troops appeared to be badly stalled.

On Oct. 17 we were with a small group of reporters that managed to get as far

Continued on page 30



David Hayward

A government offensive against guerrillas in the mountains of Morazan is reported to have bogged down.

WEST GERMANY

Old squabbles resurfaced in new ecology party

By Diana Johnstone

BONN

FOR THE GERMAN LEFT, THE DEFEAT of Franz Josef Strauss was a relief, but hardly a victory. What is called or calls itself the left in West Germany could scarcely rejoice over the fact that, even running against the Bavarian ogre, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) made only minute gains over its 1976 score. Or that it was the middle-of-the-road Free Democratic Party (FDP) that apparently picked up most of the votes lost to the Christian Democrats (CDU) because of the Strauss candidacy. (Even so, the Christian Democrats remain the largest caucus in the *Bundestag*.) And, finally, that the sprouting ecological Green Party—which many had seen as the discovery, at last, of a successful political challenge to the existing system—was snowed under at the polls.

What happened to the Greens?

The Green Party had put itself together over the past year out of the diverse eco-

logical groups that have thrived locally throughout the country. West Germany's anti-nuclear movement is surely one of the most vigorous in the world, and has occasionally succeeded in slowing down, though not stopping, the Federal Republic's nuclear power plant program. Over a hundred ecological candidates have won various local elections. In last year's European Parliamentary elections, ecologists won 3.2 percent nationwide, without any real organization. In two of West Germany's ten states, Bremen and Baden-Württemberg, ecological tickets had won the 5 percent needed to get into state legislatures. So crossing the 5 percent barrier in this year's *Bundestag* (parliament) elections did not seem too wild a dream.

But when the votes were counted on Oct. 5, the Green Party had only 1.5 percent—lower than even the most pessimistic forecasts. The explanation for this dismal showing can be found in three sets of factors: the dynamics of the 1980 election, the particular divisions within the German ecological movement and, most fundamentally, the nature of the ecological movement itself.

The Greens were probably unlucky to make their debut in an election completely dominated by the figure of Strauss. Issues were forgotten in the polarization caused by that controversial personality. Among his other frightening attributes, Strauss has always been an unconditional champion of nuclear power (and nuclear weapons), so potential Green voters could not be insensitive to the rallying cry "Stop Strauss!" Right from the start, the Green Party was up against the fear that a vote for the Greens was a vote lost in the battle to stop Strauss.

Some Christian Democratic leaders seemed to be encouraging the Greens, with the hope that they would take enough votes away from FDP to deny the crucial 5 percent, while not reaching 5 percent themselves. This would have left the SPD alone without its junior government partner in the *Bundestag*, and thus give the Christian Democrats an absolute majority.

The test that may have sealed the fate of the Greens came last May in elections in North-Rhine Westphalia, the largest and richest state, which includes the

Ruhr area. The Greens got 3 percent, which was not enough for representation, but may have helped hold the FDP down to 4.986 percent, knocking it out, too. But it was the SPD that thereby won an absolute majority of seats with a record 48.4 percent of the vote, while the CDU dropped into second place.

Heartened by this unprecedented victory, the left of the SPD would have liked to wage an aggressive campaign against Strauss aimed at giving the SPD a comparable victory nationwide, enabling the Social Democrats to govern alone, without the conservative hobble of the FDP. But the SPD's conservative wing, led by chancellor Helmut Schmidt, had other ideas. Without the FDP at his side, how could Schmidt continue to turn down social welfare measures demanded by his own party? The main concern of the Schmidt camp was to save the FDP. So Schmidt ran a fairly defensive campaign, willingly sharing the spotlight with his FDP foreign minister, Hans Dietrich Genscher.

The assumption underlying the creation

Continued on page 30

ISRAEL

"Unity" fits uneasily over Jerusalem

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

AS ISRAEL REAFFIRMED THE "unity" it has imposed on 100,000 Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem, Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Fahd responded by declaring a *ji-had*, or holy war, and most of the few remaining foreign embassies moved from even the Western sector of the capital—which has belonged to Israel since 1948—to Tel Aviv. Simultaneously, the editor of the city's Arabic daily, *Al-Fajr*, voiced a brave appeal to his Jewish neighbors. "In the course of written history," wrote Ziad Abu Zayyad, in Hebrew, in the mass-circulation Jerusalem weekly, *Kol Ha'ir*, "the city has been destroyed 26 times—each time, on account of its sanctity. These acts of destruction were carried out by those who loved the city, and wished to exercise that love."

Moving the prime minister's office only highlights doubts as to the city's real unity. If there's no East Jerusalem or West Jerusalem, then why all the fuss?

Criticizing the former Jordanian regime for failing "to take into account how important Jerusalem is to the Jews," he continued: "I recognize the feelings of the Israeli, and constantly try to understand how important Jerusalem is for him. For his part, the Israeli must recognize my feelings, and endeavor to understand how important Jerusalem is for me. If he does so, he will realize that he cannot keep the city for himself while denying others' claims to it."

Meron Benvenisti, a former deputy mayor of the city who quit after quarrels with Mayor Teddy Kollek over personal and policy questions, expressed a similar attitude. "If the Arabs say they feel a strong attachment to Jerusalem, we must believe them. It is not for us to judge." He does not expect the Arabs to accept occupation under any conditions, and sees a solution to the conflict only as a last step of any overall settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. "Meanwhile, we should adopt whatever policies are necessary, even unilaterally, to improve the lot of Jerusalem Arabs as human beings, and should not take any steps that are seen as closing off options for the future, making the Arabs feel that their presence here is insecure."

But Benvenisti today is in a distinct minority among Jerusalem Jews. For most Israelis, emotional attachment to parts of the city cut off from them between 1948 and the 1967 war—combined with ignorance about the changing nature of Palestinian identity and political aims—adds up to support for the "unity" of Jerusalem, defined as annexation along borders drawn soon after the Six Day War to include not only holy and historic sites, but also more mundane geographical features such as strategic hills and an airfield eight kilometers north of the nearest pre-1967 Jewish neighborhood.

Even a leader of the dovish Peace Now movement, in a recent private conversa-



tion among friends, advocated return of all the occupied territories—except Jerusalem. "I admit to being irrational on this question," he said. "But I insist that Jerusalem remain united." He too failed to question whether real "unity" could be imposed on one population by another.

Rewriting "basic law."

As far as official Israel is concerned, such unity is now an accomplished fact. Israeli law was extended to the enlarged city by administrative decree 13 years ago, and to dispel any lingering doubts, Parliament last month voted 69 to 15 for a "basic law" declaring Jerusalem, "complete and united, the capital of Israel."

There is not much to the law itself. It requires that high state institutions be located in the city—most already are—and concludes with a few generally phrased sentences about freedom of access to holy places and special state responsibility for developing the city and looking after the well-being of its residents. The latter clauses were added in committee under pressures from the Labour Party, and to make the law even more palatable to them a definition of Jerusalem's boundaries as those established in 1967 was removed.

The new law does not make Jerusalem's status any more difficult to change in the future. Unlike some "basic laws," meant to comprise a future constitution, it does not include a "protection clause" making its repeal contingent on a larger-than-normal majority. Any future Israeli government willing to restore Arab sovereignty to East Jerusalem—and presumably commanding the parliamentary backing to do so—would have no trouble disposing of the new law or, more likely, ignoring it.

Impossible to ignore, however, are the physical and demographic changes that have occurred in 13 years of Israeli rule over East Jerusalem. New Jewish suburbs, placed with no pretense of "security considerations," ring the city. Unlike the rest of the occupied territories, where the settler population barely reaches 1 percent of the whole, in Jerusalem, nearly as many Jews as Arabs live in the area across the former border.

The city's infrastructure—roads, water supply, electricity—has been planned to erase the 1948-67 division. A large Israeli industrial park, the national police headquarters and the justice ministry are all in East Jerusalem, and in another controversial move, Prime Minister Begin may transfer his bureau across town to a new government complex.

Separate and unequal.

But ironically, as Abba Eban and other Labour Party leaders have been noting, the very act of moving the prime minister's office indicates doubts as to Jerusalem's real unity. If there is no East Jerusalem and no West Jerusalem (neither the 1967 act nor the current law refer to them as such), then why all the fuss?

Labour opposes the bureau transfer, but most of its members avoid the reality behind the argument: Jerusalem is very much divided in one important sphere—the human one. Jews and Arabs do not live together, study together, play together or, in most cases, speak the same language. Social contact is rarely more than superficial, and class-defined—Jew-employer/Arab worker or shopper/merchant in either direction.

Public services, even those supplied by the relatively liberal municipal government, are grossly unequal, as a walk through Jewish and Arab neighborhoods easily shows, and development since 1967 has been strongly weighted toward projects for Jews. East Jerusalem architect Ibrahim Dakak, considered a central figure in Palestinian politics of the territories, says that, for him, three and four year waits for building permits and

strict size limits are normal, while projects for Jews on adjoining sites are allowed much higher density and are often completed before a license is finalized. More than 25,000 dunams of land within the city boundaries have been expropriated from Arab owners, for roads, and used, together with other "state-owned" land for Jewish neighborhoods.

Benvenisti, before he left City Hall in 1978, argued unsuccessfully for a declaration that there would be no more expropriations and that investments would be made to insure equality in all areas of the city's life. As deputy mayor, he opposed the displacement of Arabs to make way for Jewish housing.

But he dismisses another imbalance noted by Abu Zayyad in his article: while Jews joyously reclaimed homes their families had been forced to abandon in the old city in 1948—displacing 5,000 Palestinians, refugees and original owners in the process—Arabs who had owned homes in West Jerusalem were not allowed to return.

Unity Israeli-style—separate and unequal—has been facilitated by the fact that East Jerusalem Arabs do not want integration into Israel or equal services from Teddy Kollek's City Hall. Rather, they see their fate as inextricably linked to that of the West Bank. East Jerusalem serves as a center for the region, geographically, economically, politically and culturally. Its residents have, almost without exception, refused Israeli citizenship. During the recent unrest in the West Bank, Jerusalem was in the forefront of demonstrations and commercial strikes.

Yet Israeli negotiators have been adamant in their refusal to let East Jerusalemites vote in the proposed elections for a West Bank autonomy council, if they ever take place. That position contradicts Israel's insistence, on the other hand, that autonomy will somehow apply only to people, not geographically defined territory.

At Camp David, both sides agreed to disagree over Jerusalem, assuming, perhaps correctly, that if accord were reached on all other problems, Jerusalem would not prove a stumbling block.

Now, by demonstratively pursuing plans to maintain absolute rule over East Jerusalem, Israel seems to have undermined any possibility of agreement with Egypt over autonomy. This suits the extreme right. And whether Begin likes it or not, the hullabaloo over Jerusalem is seen as an indication that he had concluded the talks were going nowhere. If so, why not exploit American inability to slap Israel's wrists during an election year and force Sadat, unable to save face any other way, to bear the onus of officially freezing the talks?

Nearly forgotten here in Israel, where the "redivision" of Jerusalem has become a useful bogeyman, is the fact that neither Sadat nor more militant Arabs are necessarily advocating a return to the pre-1967 situation, when barbed wire was strung across the city. Abu Zayyad, who says unabashedly that the PLO is his political representative, has another idea: "I believe that Israeli recognition of the Palestinian people and their right to establish a state whose capital would be East Jerusalem—with arrangements that would guarantee that Jerusalem remains a single, united city—is an essential step...[and] could break the cycle of destruction. Without it, Jerusalem cannot be called united."



Graffiti in the Katamon Tet neighborhood denounce both Labour and Likud.

Pocketbook politics in the city's neighborhoods

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

IN RESPONSE TO REACTIONS TO last summer's law declaring Jerusalem "eternally united as Israel's capital," Prime Minister Menachem Begin decreed the resurrection of a once-annual event: the Jerusalem March.

A takeoff on pilgrimages to the city in biblical times, the modern march was originally designed to foster Israel's emotional ties to Jerusalem, which was an out-of-the-way provincial town between 1948 and 1967. After that year, the march was rerouted through new territory taken by Israel in the Six Day War, but the event was later cut back from three days to one, and last year eliminated completely, officially for budgetary reasons.

But in September the tradition was revived, and Jerusalem's streets were tied up for the day by some 50,000 marchers, about half of them soldiers, converging on the city from several directions. Civilian participants came singly and in groups, from small towns and villages, factories, offices and clubs. Some fundamentalist American Christian Zionists, a group of Japanese philosemites and a small contingent from Israeli puppet Sa'ad Haddad's South Lebanese militia forces, together with a few European delegations, even gave the march a festive, international flavor.

Nevertheless, as not only Jerusalem's Palestinian newspaper *Al-Fajr*, but also the Israeli *Jerusalem Post* point out, only half the city celebrated Jerusalem's "unity." Threatened counter-demonstrations by the city's 100,000 Arabs annexed to Israel against their will did not materialize, perhaps because of heavy security measures on the day of the march. But resident Palestinians, who have often used strikes and demonstrations to express their feelings on the subject this year, were not out enjoying the festivities. Their views appeared spray-painted on the walls: "Confront the march," "Long live Arab Jerusalem."

The Jerusalem March took place during the eight-day festival of *Succot*, the Hebrew word for decorated shacks in which observant Jews eat and sleep during the holiday commemorating the Israelites' wanderings in Sinai 3,500 years ago.

In Katamon Tet, Jerusalem's largest neighborhood, the *succot* are built on the sidewalks in front of the tightly packed orange housing "blocks," which have no yards or large balconies.

Haim, now in high school has lived in this poor neighborhood all his life. He, two Moroccan-born parents and five brothers and sisters live in one of the

orange blocks—two bedrooms, a living room and, for one week a year, a dining room on the sidewalk below. He sat on the stoop on the holiday eve, watching neighbors—a few adults and hundreds of children—put finishing touches on their *succot*, built with scavenged planks, corrugated tin, canvas and branches.

Would he be joining the Jerusalem March? An apathetic "maybe" was the reply. Haim felt strongly that the city "must remain united," but saw no point in stirring up controversy by moving the prime minister's office, passing a special law or holding a march. "A waste of money," he muttered.

On a high ridge far above, but visible from Katamon Tet, some other construction work proceeded as we spoke. Gilo, one of six new neighborhoods ringing Jerusalem—all on land annexed to the city after the 1967 war—is perpetually enveloped in a cloud of dust. Hundreds of cranes, thousands of (mostly Palestinian) laborers and countless tons of concrete are giving form to 10,000 new apartments, about a third of them already occupied.

Haim doesn't know anyone who has moved from Katamon Tet to Gilo. "Who can afford it?" he asks. "New immigrants, and perhaps a few families from here so large that they qualify for special grants."

The residents of Jerusalem's slums, mostly first and second generation immigrants from North African and Asian countries, are not noted for their dovish views. The "neighborhoods" voted heavily for Begin's Likud in 1977, and conversations with people on the street reveal both an emotional attachment to Jewish historical sites on the West Bank and a general distrust of "the Arabs."

But like poor people all over the world, Israel's slum dwellers are most preoccupied with bread and butter issues. During the last year, a slogan more and more widely heard in Katamon Tet has been "Money to the neighborhoods, not settlements!" About 150 demonstrators organized by the radical Black Panthers first used it a year ago when they invaded Elazar, a small, highly capitalized settlement near Bethlehem on the West Bank, one-third of whose houses were vacant at the time. A few weeks later, the slogan was prominent during a night of mass rioting after the government abolished state subsidies for dairy products.

Finance Minister Yigael Hurvitz has claimed that only about \$175 million, slightly over 1 percent of the fiscal 1980 state budget, is going to settlements in the occupied territories. But a more detailed study of various ministry allocations, published recently in the Hebrew daily *Ha'aretz*, came up with a figure three times that for direct expenditures alone.

When the two-thirds of Israel's budget spent on defense and debt service is deducted, this means that over 8 percent of the remainder is going directly to the settlements. And this year, another \$90 million is being paid out to residents of northern Sinai as compensation for having to leave their homes when the area is returned to Egypt.

Haim was not aware of the specific figures, but he and many others in Jerusalem slums are beginning to be aware that money spent on the 0.25 percent of Israel's population that lives in the occupied territories (not including East Jerusalem) is draining funds away from programs that might otherwise help him and his neighbors. "Why spend so much on areas that will probably have to be given back in a few years?" he asked.

Tensions and coexistence.

While West Jerusalem was clogged with marchers, life continued in its own unique version of normality on the city's eastern side. Considering the underlying tension, day-to-day coexistence within the walls of the Old City proceeds quite smoothly. Religious Moslems, Jews and Christians encounter each other at the city's seven gates enroute to their respective holy sites: the Al-Aksa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, the Western Wall, the stations along the Via Dolorosa. Tourist season peaks in summer and around Christmas and Easter, but continues all year round, with groups and individuals speaking a hundred different languages gaping at the sights and buying souvenirs. On Saturdays, the shops are invariably filled with Hebrew-speaking bargain hunters.

Business generally has been good for Old City merchants, even under occupation. Demonstrations, violent attacks and curfews are less frequent here than in other parts of the West Bank. But in the last year, commercial strikes have become more common in Jerusalem—usually called in response to some major event, such as the opening of Egypt's embassy in Tel Aviv, the bomb attack against West Bank mayors last spring or in solidarity with a prison hunger strike over the summer.

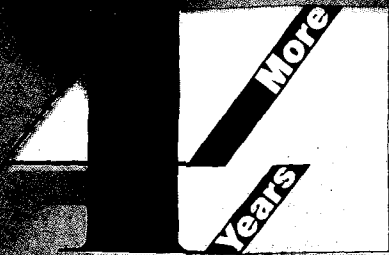
Police and army units have taken to breaking the strikes by threatening either to cut off the shops' locks or to shut them permanently. Some merchants play out a symbolic drama, observing the strike as a gesture of solidarity with the Palestinian struggle and then readily opening under police escort, perhaps following a night in jail. After all, the main losers are the shopkeepers themselves, as some Israelis, concerned at how the forced openings appear abroad, are quick to point out.

But, as one spice, bean and grain seller remarked, Israel's determination to break the strikes suggests that they have some effect—if only to serve as a reminder that things can be disrupted. "Nor is it true," he continued, "that we are intimidated into striking [as the Israeli press claims]. As Palestinians, we also oppose the occupation and Israel's plans for Jerusalem. Closing down the Old City is our way of demonstrating our feelings to each other, to Israelis and to the world."

He and other shopkeepers also point to another, more immediate reason for bitterness among striking merchants: for the last several years, Israel has been trying to force them to pay the country's 12 percent value-added tax on sales. This would require keeping detailed books and setting fixed prices—practices inconsistent with the traditional, free-wheeling bargaining prevalent in Old City markets. "If we paid the tax out of existing revenue," a clothing stall owner explained, "we'd go out of business. And if we added it on, we'd lose a lot of customers, both Jewish and Arab."

If books are not kept, a different type of bargaining ensues: the authorities and merchants dicker over an estimated revenue on which to base the tax bill. But as Abu Shukri, known for the best *humus* in town, relates, the two sides are not equal. When he claimed that the government had overestimated his income earlier this year, he and his son were simply jailed for a day until they agreed to turn over the amount demanded.





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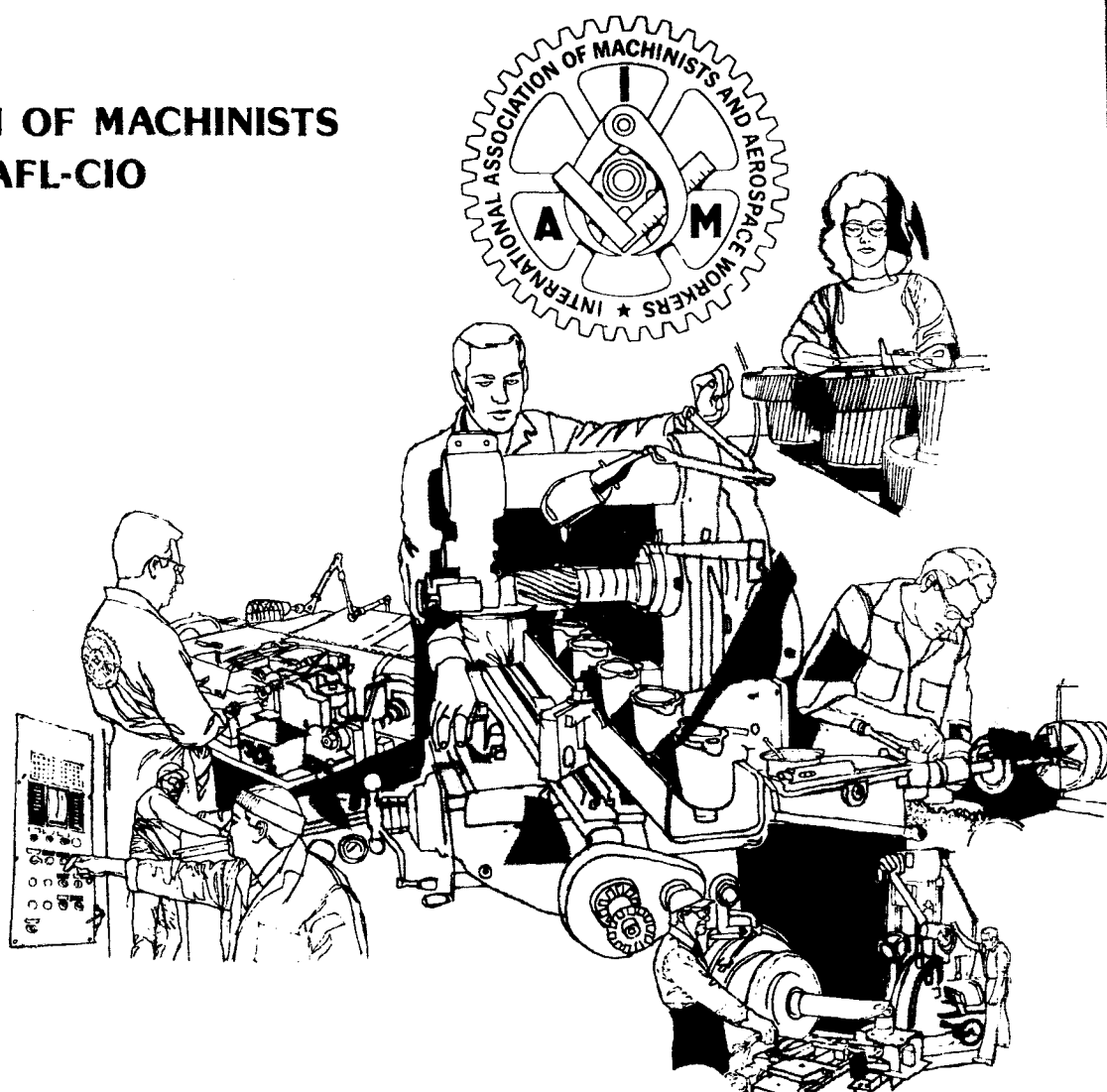
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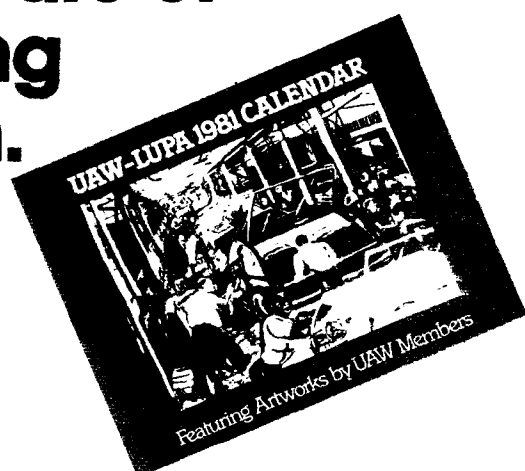
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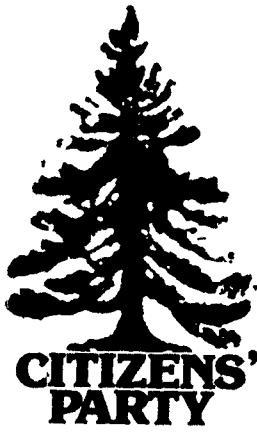
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On a rainy October day, shortly after his 65th birthday, Dan Radovsky was discharged from a mental hospital in a large northeastern city. He had no family and whatever friends he had he would never see again. Still, Dan was lucky—he had a place to go.

Several weeks before Dan and other elderly patients were discharged, the mental hospital had invited representatives of for-profit nursing homes to "bid" for the right to care for the old people. Dan was a real find. Since he received Social Security, Medicare and an ILGWU pension check, the nursing home that got him knew Dan would be a profitable patient.

At first, Dan behaved as he had in the hospital. His days were fine, but his nights were spent talking to friends, dead friends,

famous people and, finally, God. He cursed his circumstances, but no one could hear him. Unlike the hospital, there were no night-time attendants at the "home."

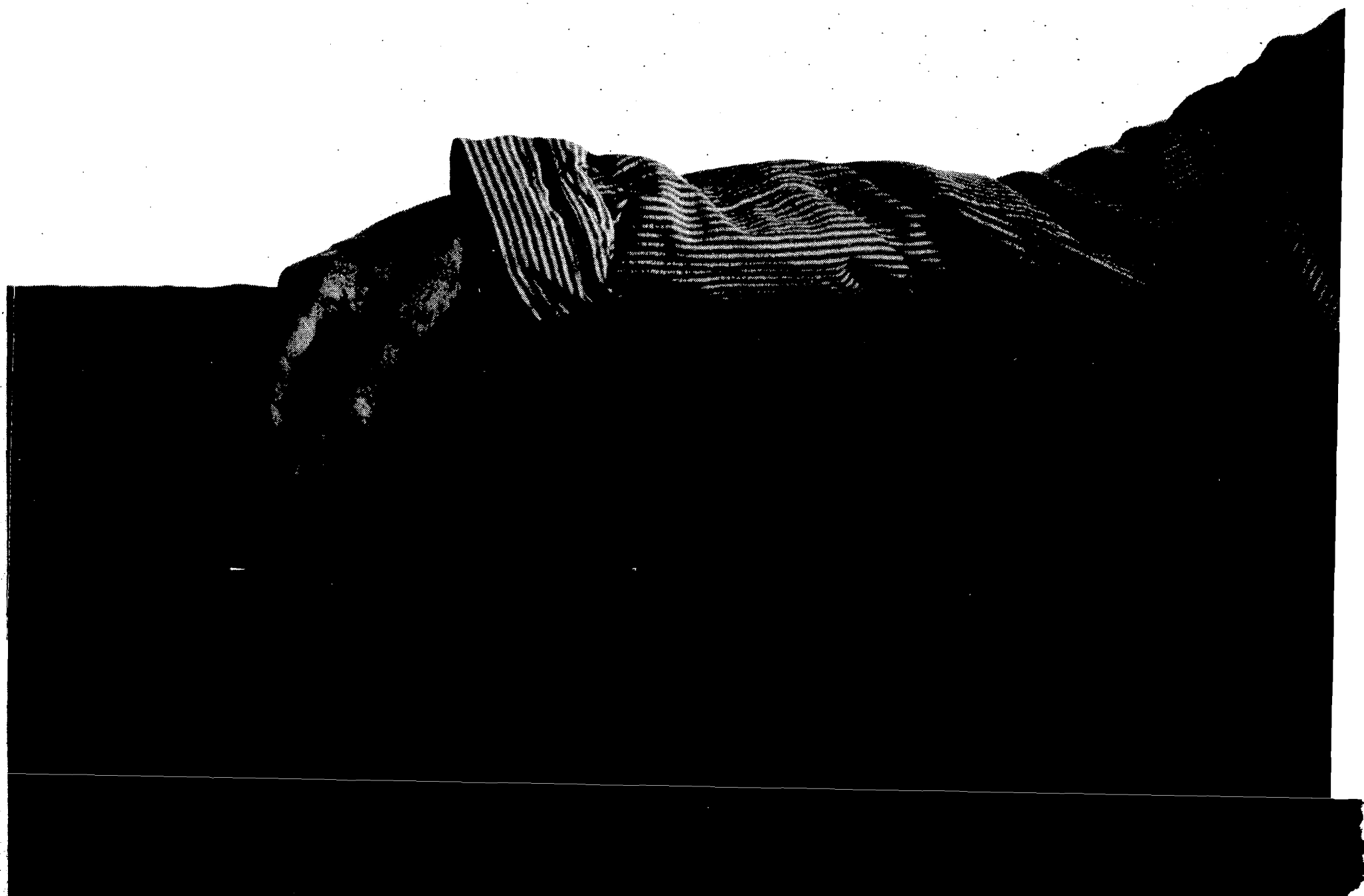
There was no recreation program either. No social hour, no planned activities—just a TV. So eventually Dan didn't bother to get out of bed. If the nursing home had had psychiatric professionals on staff, they'd have said Dan had gone into a deep depression. As it was, they simply let him be.

No one really knows when Dan first became ill, but it was assumed he had a cold or the flu. When the "home" doctor came for his monthly visit, he gave Dan some pills. An untrained attendant made sure Dan took the medicine, but never noticed his high fever. Within a month, Dan was

dead. His death certificate listed pneumonia as the cause. But the real reason Dan Radovsky died was a budgetary cutback that closed down his mental hospital ward, leaving him without proper medical care.

Dan Radovsky is not an actual person. He is a composite of thousands of people who have become the helpless victims of a national scandal called de-institutionalization.

In the 1960's, a number of psychologists, psychiatrists and other experts decided that the needs of our mentally ill and retarded would be better served by smaller, less impersonal and community-oriented centers. These nursing homes, boarding houses and halfway houses, the theory went, would be able to give patients more



Best for Dan Radovsky. at killed him.

individualized care in a more pleasant environment than the understaffed, underfunded and ill-equipped state institutions. And so, de-institutionalization—the transfer of vital social services from the public domain to the private—was born.

What began as a noble experiment to aid our most helpless citizens has become a nightmare.

De-institutionalization hasn't worked well for many reasons, but none is more

troublesome than the often blind enthusiasm of public officials and administrators who view public programs from a monetary rather than human perspective. In their haste to close down public institutions, they have contributed to the increasing number of mentally ill and retarded people who are not receiving adequate care in for-profit "homes." What's more, it is estimated that two million people who would have been cared for just a few years ago are now left to fend for themselves—in flop houses, on heating grates and in doorways. And what is so appalling is the fact that all this suffering is unnecessary.

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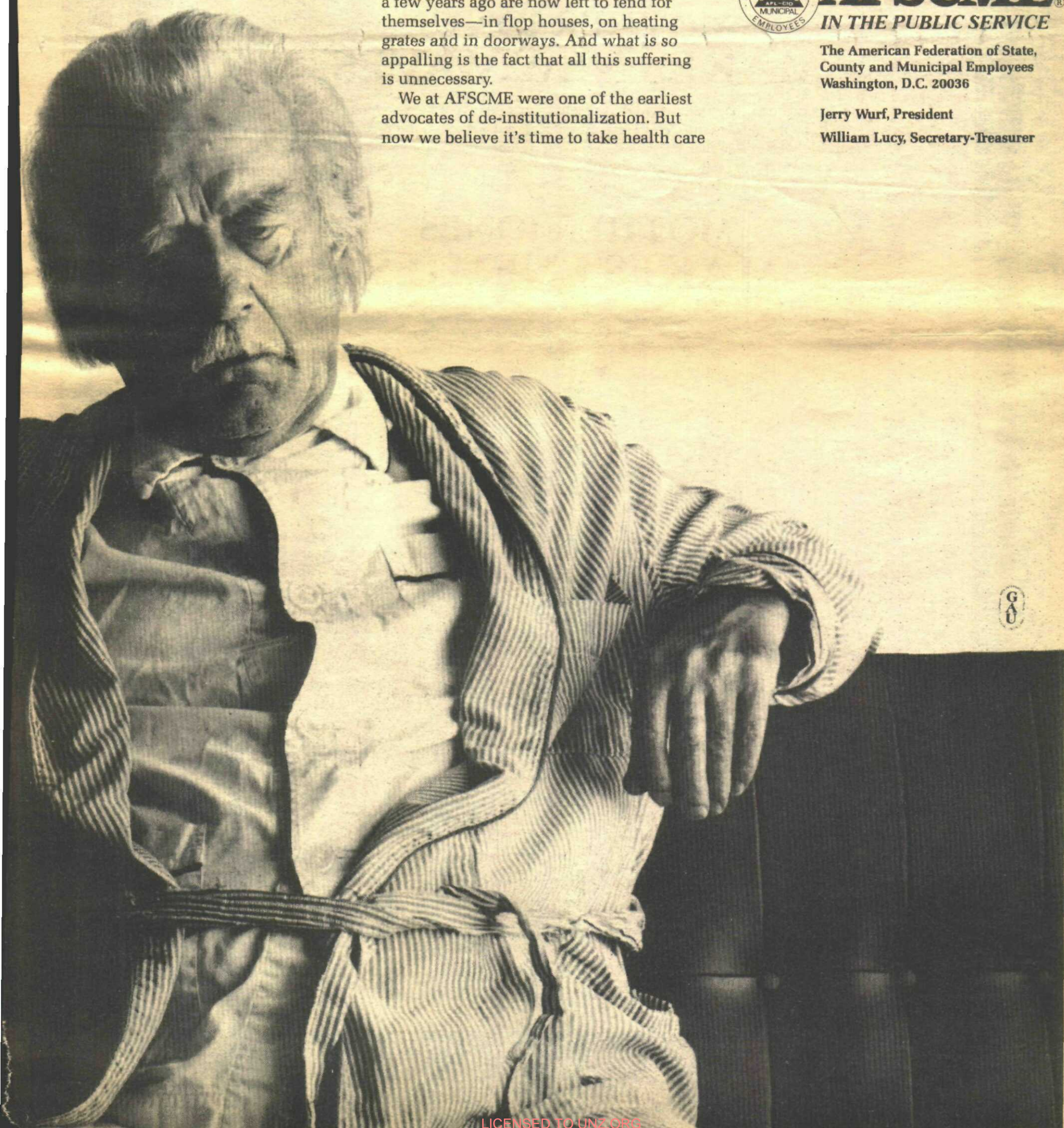


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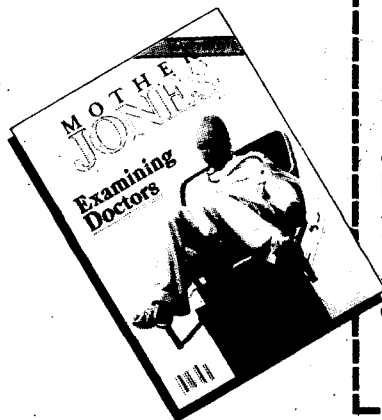
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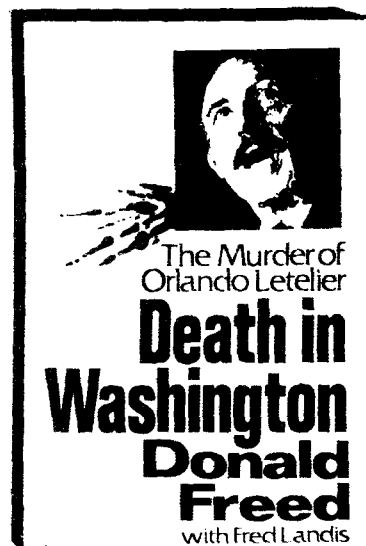
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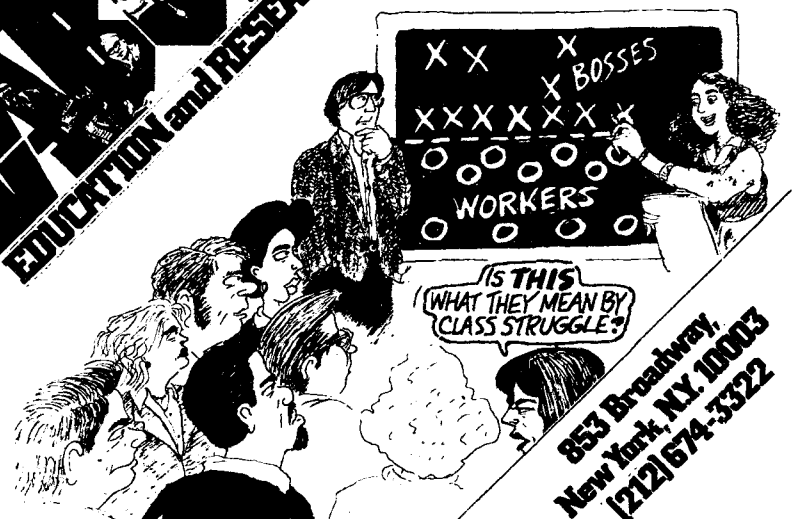
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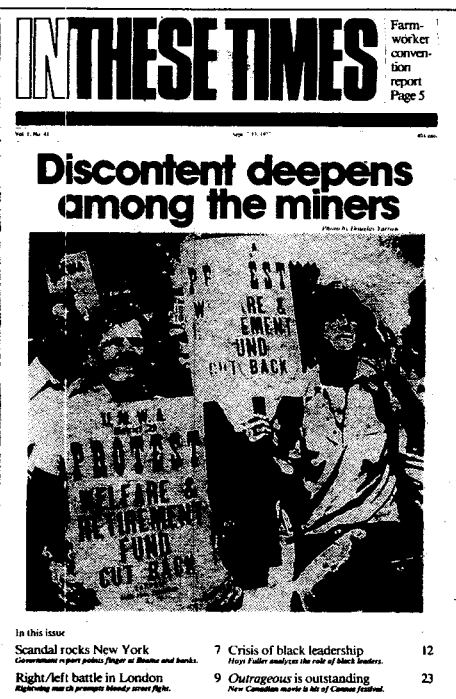
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EDITORIAL

Thoughts on entering our second term



With this issue we begin our fifth year of publication. The first issue of *In These Times* appeared just after Jimmy Carter's election as president in 1976. As this is written we do not know if his attempt to stay in office has been successful. But we do know that the trends in American life that led us to embark on this uncertain venture of independent socialist journalism have continued as we anticipated they would. And our steadily growing support from a wide range of groups and organizations has sustained our confidence and strengthened our determination to help build a left majority in the United States.

One basic assumption gave us the courage to proceed in 1976: We believed that liberal capitalism—which originated before World War I as an alternative to socialism and was refined in the '30s and in the post-war period—had finally run aground. Its viability had rested on American economic and military superiority—on both its own wealth of natural resources and a ready access to the resources of other countries. Within the framework of steady expansion, American capitalism had been able to use state policy to smooth out the rough edges; to keep unemployment low, to mediate between labor and capital, and to provide expanding social services.

But the U.S. has lost its absolute superiority. With rising energy prices and growing competition from foreign manufacturers, we now face simultaneous inflation and unemployment. With less-developed countries made bolder by the American loss in Vietnam and with the Soviet Union having achieved nuclear parity, the U.S. can no longer force other countries to do its bidding.

We are at a crossroads. One path, now favored by major corporate leaders—and by both major candidates—assumes that economic growth can be stimulated by redistributing wealth away from labor to capital, increasing the supply of capital and thereby eliciting new investment. Advocates of such policies do not, of course, acknowledge that this new supply of capital will be at the expense of the consumers.

The other path involves government planning of investment and resource decisions. It is based on the assumption that corporate capital has reached a point where it can no longer use its surplus to enrich life in the U.S., but is driven by the laws of profit to invest it unproductively or overseas.

The second path also calls for American acceptance of a pluralistic world in which different countries will adopt different economic systems according to their own histories. It calls for accep-

tance of Soviet nuclear parity and advocates using that parity as the basis for arms control. It calls for national planning of resource allocation as the only alternative to stationing gunboats off the shore of any material-rich Third World nation unwilling to do our bidding.

The breakdown of liberal capitalism has not immediately resulted in creation of viable alternatives. Because of the history of the American left, which since World War I has identified socialism either with the New Deal or with Soviet totalitarianism, socialism has few takers in the U.S. Instead, most people experience the current crisis as one of decay and degeneration of existing alternatives and react with distrust, disillusionment and dissatisfaction toward politicians and government.

Inspired by right-wing politicians, some people have looked to remedies whose failure was proved so long ago that many have forgotten. They have turned on government itself as the enemy rather than the corporate system government serves.

But faced with this new situation, the left has been slow to break old molds.

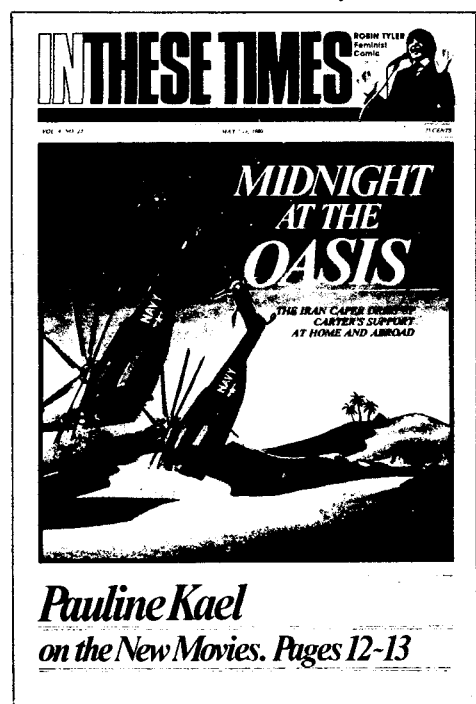
Breaking bad habits.

The heritage of both the old socialist left and the New Left of the '60s is one of disdain for the American political system as it has evolved and reliance on preconceived ideas of how things should be. This heritage has been apparent in the traditional vacillation between a politics that was socialist but marginal and unpopular on the one hand and participation in popular liberal politics devoid of socialist principles on the other.

In the past four years several groups have attempted to find ways to increase the left's effectiveness and to bring socialist ideas and programs into the main-

stream of American politics. But despite the best intentions of their initiators, each such attempt has been saddled with the legacy of past habits and failures.

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, for example, has been working primarily within the Democratic Party and trying, with some success, to influence its platform and to nominate pro-labor candidates. Outside of this framework, over the past year and a half, the Citizens Party has tried to bring its views to the widest possible audience by means of a third-party presidential campaign. And beyond these activities, various coalitions of labor and left organizations, most notably the Citizen-Labor Energy Coalition (CLEC) and the Progressive Alliance, have been formed to coordinate left activities around particu-



lar issues or to lobby elected representatives in federal and state governments. Each of these attempts has been an important step forward in its own way, but each also has been frustrated by inherent limitations in the nature of its activity. As we have argued before (Editorial, Aug. 27), DSOC's primary emphasis on the presidential race led it to focus almost exclusively on Senator Edward Kennedy's primary campaign because the unions associated with DSOC had no viable alternative to Kennedy within the

Democratic Party and could not afford to cut themselves off from the influence, limited as it is, that they have within that party. But commitment to Ted Kennedy also confined DSOC to the principles and programs of Kennedy's brand of liberalism. Although DSOC has a program that goes well beyond that offered by the Kennedy campaign, their own views and demands had to be suppressed in the interest of the coalition they had joined. Beyond that, as we have argued on many occasions, the primary emphasis on presidential politics at this time is a dead-end for socialists, both in theory and as a practical matter. The only hope that socialists now have of electing people to office is on the legislative level—to city councils, state legislatures and Congress. In such elections, as Democrats or as independents in nonpartisan elections, DSOC and socialists in general can take a leaf from the New Right's book and campaign uninhibitedly on the basis of their own principles and programs. Only by doing that can they test the extent to which their politics has a practical basis in this country, and only in that way can they learn how to develop a socialist politics that is both principled and popular.

As the Citizens Party presidential candidate, Barry Commoner contributed substantially to this latter task in 1980. In campaign speeches and interviews, Commoner made it clear that the problems of our society are not the result of big government, but of investment decisions made by giant corporations whose operating principles have nothing to do with solving social problems and everything to do with maximizing profits for the benefit of their major stockholders.

Making these arguments lucidly and concretely, Commoner asserted that the public welfare and working people's interest require that control over investment in energy, autos or health care services must be in the hands of the public, because the corporations in control of these areas of the economy have demonstrated their indifference to the public good. His call for social control of investment in these areas points the way to

a popular politics along socialist lines.

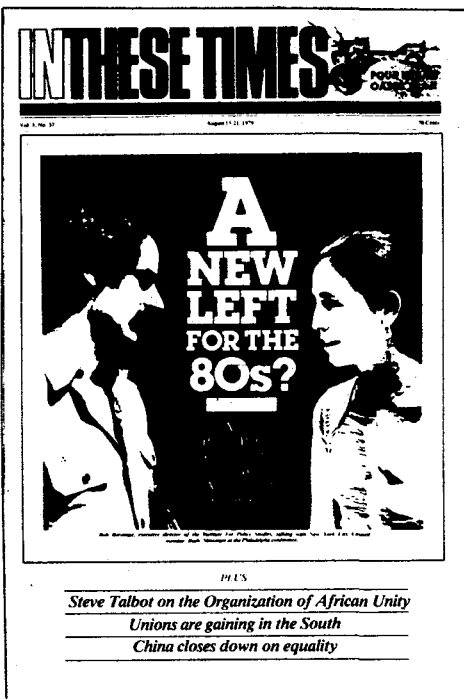
Unfortunately, in choosing as his vehicle a new third party—and one with little or no organizational support from the labor movement or any other significant social grouping—Commoner had no access to a popular forum in which to give his ideas and his approach a serious test. Even in an election like this year's, where both major candidates were widely distrusted and disliked, few people would take a third-party candidate seriously. This was true not only of Commoner, but equally of Libertarian Ed Clark and of John Anderson, who had the advantage of campaigning for several months as a major party candidate, but who nevertheless quickly became irrelevant.

Unlike the Citizens Party and other third-party efforts, CLEC and the Progressive Alliance have had substantial organizational support, at least on the leadership level. Their attempts at grassroots activities and lobbying have failed to develop, partly because of the difficulty of getting more than minimal agreement on programs and partly because they had no perspective for developing an electoral base of their own—and so no way to sustain activity or organization as a coalition.

In our view the building of a viable left that will include socialist programs requires an electoral commitment that has realistic prospects of winning office. Initially, this can only be done on the legislative level, whether municipal, state or federal. And in any case, winning executive office without a legislative majority must be a dead-end in our political system. At present, most electoral activity will necessarily go on within the Democratic Party, though wherever there are realistic prospects for electing left or socialist independents that is desirable.

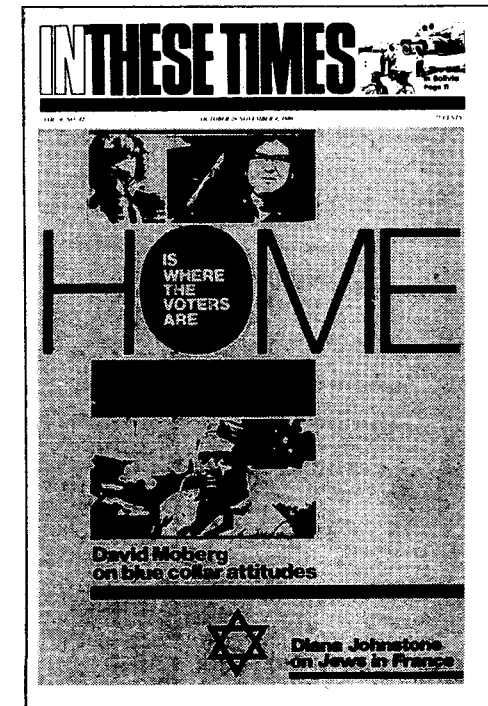
If this is the task facing us, it seems that the most promising form of organization on a national scale would be one or more left or socialist (or a combination of both) political action committees, analogous to those set up by right-wing groups in recent years. Such organizations have the advantage of allowing flexibility and initiative to remain at the local or district level—or in the hands of national issue organizations that wish to retain their own integrity—while at the same time making possible the accumulation of resources on a scale that could have some effect.

As we begin a new presidential term, with the next such effort four years off, it should be possible for the left to start building both a legislative base and effective structures for political action. ■



stream of American politics. But despite the best intentions of their initiators, each such attempt has been saddled with the legacy of past habits and failures.

The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, for example, has been working primarily within the Democratic Party and trying, with some success, to influence its platform and to nominate pro-labor candidates. Outside of this framework, over the past year and a half, the Citizens Party has tried to bring its views to the widest possible audience by means of a third-party presidential campaign. And beyond these activities, various coalitions of labor and left organizations, most notably the Citizen-Labor Energy Coalition (CLEC) and the Progressive Alliance, have been formed to coordinate left activities around particu-



LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

PATIENCE, FRIEND

I RARELY WRITE TO THE VARIOUS PERIODICALS I receive, and even less often in response to someone else's letter. But one phrase in Laurel Bossen's letter (*ITT*, Oct. 22) piqued my interest.

I would be interested in Bossen's explanation of the remark that one function of masculine attire is to "conceal the imperfections of the male body." While I have no doubt that the human body in general, as well as its male variant in particular, could benefit from a few improvements, the one in my possession has served its owner well for nearly 25 years. I wasn't aware of any glaring "imperfections" in it that had to be concealed from public view. If there are such defects, I would certainly appreciate Bossen's letting me know the details of same.

—Andrew C. Robins
Kalamazoo, Mich.

CONCERNED

FRED HALLIDAY STATES (*ITT*, OCT. 8), without any particular evidence, that the government of Israel is "delighted" at the war between Iran and Iraq.

At a recent press conference at the UN, the Foreign Minister of Israel stated that Iraq wants to control the Middle East, and that "anybody who wants to control the Middle East wants to achieve it by harming Israel. This is a real cause for concern."

Shamir's "concern" and Halliday's "delight" indicate that Halliday is not properly representing the position of the government of Israel.

Bill Filman
Los Angeles

Editor's note: As David Mandel, our Israeli correspondent, wrote on Oct. 22, the general Israeli response and attitude toward the war—not necessarily the same as the official government position—was as Halliday described it.

VALLEY OF DEATH

I THANK SUE MARTINEZ AND ALAN Ramo (*ITT*, Oct. 8) for putting into words a part of the truth about the dangers of toxic chemicals in the work areas of electrical workers.

Your article states facts that have been known by the health authorities, elected officials and the victims—of which I am one.

I worked—in mock-up—in production on assembly line and finally in rework and overhaul at Airesearch Manufacturing—a subsidiary of Signal Oil—from 1955 to 1969. Certified by NASA, I did the work on the cabin pressure of the moon shots. On the computers for them. I worked from design—into overhaul on some of the modules that went into the Phantom, the Starfighter, F4 (and descendants) and the B-52s.

Working on printed circuit boards made of Silicon, I also was in contact with the PCBs. Poly Vinyl was used as insulation on wiring that had to be stripped with Thermanal (heat) strippers, causing a phosgenous gas. The heated, open degreaser (which I hope is a thing of the past) with carcinogenic solvents, in which we dipped baskets with parts in them to be cleansed. With no warning, either, verbal or printed.

I am 64, totally and completely disabled (so declared by California State board of Doctors in 1969). I have toxic liver, spleen, malfunctioning urinary

bladder, heart and lungs. There is damage to the central nervous system. A suit against the company—in California State Compensation Board—was settled after three years (due to my continuing ill health and the illness of my attorney) for \$8,000 (\$2,000 of which went to attorneys and medical expenses. I received no medical coverage, no pension; I exist solely on Social Security.

It is past the point of no return for me—and I am MAD AS HELL at a government that does not provide adequate medical care for its citizens who worked, bore children, paid taxes and never asked for welfare.

Only the fact that there are those like you, who have a way to reach the public, gives me any hope.

—Ruby Clouser
Lancaster, Calif.

GLOSSED OVER

I'M WRITING TO PROTEST THE TONE of your review of Vanessa Redgrave's portrayal of a concentration camp inmate (*ITT*, Oct. 15).

The reviewer notes with apparent disapproval the effort of the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies to have would-be viewers boycott the show, stating that some would-be sponsors were "coerced" from buying supportive advertising time.

We obviously share a belief in the value of economic boycott under some circumstances. Why then is the Center's partial success at such an effort described as "coercion"?

I was in receipt of a letter from the woman portrayed by Redgrave. The letter urged that this was not her story, that the show should not be watched by anyone willing to listen to the historical figure portrayed in the performance by Redgrave, because her story could not be told by one who advocates terrorism and violence. Quite apart from the specific facts and merits of the performance from an artistic standpoint, these seem to me to be reasonable arguments. Is there something objectionable in calling attention to the political message of a performance that others purport to interpret on purely aesthetic grounds?

ITT stands in so many of its articles, editorials and reviews for the explicit, open discussion of facts and values. It therefore hurts to feel that a stance on a highly controversial, politically relevant subject was here glossed over in an almost subliminal fashion. The word "coerced" was obviously employed to state a perspective without discussing it. And the rest of the review confirms this interpretation for me.

—Robert Roth
Hartford, Conn.

A CAPITALIST PLOT

AS THE SON OF AN AUSCHWITZ SURVIVOR, I found your review of *Playing for Time* incredibly simplistic. Lee Baxandall begins his critique by congratulating CBS on its "brave decision" to hire Redgrave for the lead role. A very strange comment from a newspaper that prides itself on uncovering capitalist plots. CBS hired Redgrave only to get the type of publicity she ended up generating.

Worst yet, by casting Redgrave, CBS joins the growing chorus of revisionist groups that would like to remove the major moral imperative for the founding of Israel—the Holocaust. By casting an avowed anti-Zionist as Fania, CBS separates the uniquely Jewish aspect of the Holocaust to a general vic-

tim incident. While many others died in Hitler's ovens, it was only the Jews that were systematically rounded-up as fuel. Baxandall seems to fault Miller for not claiming that a socialist revolution would stop future Auschwitzes. It's a sad commentary that materialistic socialist and communist countries are often no less anti-Semitic than fascist regimes. Which makes one wonder whether Herzl's preachings against the false security of secularism is still not relevant today.

—Bill Pomeranz
Berkeley, Calif.

DEATH CAMPS

I FOUND IT CHARMING, BUT A LITTLE naive, that Lee Baxandall closed his review of Arthur Miller's *Playing for Time* (*ITT*, Oct. 15) with a reference to Bertolt Brecht's *The Measures Taken*. But there is a flaw in this neat contrast.

Brecht's play was written in 1930, several years before Hitler came to power, almost a decade before the outbreak of war and more than a decade before the implementation of the "final solution to the Jewish question." Except for the brief sketch in *The Private Life of the Master Race*, Brecht did not write about the sufferings of anti-fascists and the subject races at the hands of the SS. Brecht, after all, was in exile through the war years.

A more accurate counter-point to the Miller play is a novel by a German Communist, *Naked Among Wolves*, by Bruno Apitz (Seven Seas Press), which graphically depicts the superhuman discipline by which comrades were kept alive in the Buchenwald concentration camp. Another author would be Jorge Semprun, who tells in his novelistic treatment of his own deportation to that camp, *The Long Voyage* (Grove Press), of the idealism that separated victims from anti-fascists.

Where Brecht's play is indeed useful is in tracing the source of that discipline and idealism, the belief that "a single man can be wiped out/But the Party cannot be wiped out." Another inmate from Buchenwald, Eugen Kogon, a Social Democrat, wrote in 1948 that "the positive achievement of the Communists on behalf of the concentration camp prisoners can hardly be overrated." And Buchenwald, near Weimar, was not as horrid as the death camps in Poland.

—Lenny Rubenstein
New York

CRANKS A MILLION

YOU GET YOUR SHARE OF CRANKY letters. Such are the consequences of dealing with an obstreperous group like the American left.

But someone ought to tell you that you are putting out a truly excellent publication. Nothing lags; the writing is first rate, and, for the first time in any American left publication that I've seen, good plain common sense and solid knowledgeability shine through your political analysis.

Good Lord, hang in there! We need you.

—Phil Blampied
Sandisfield, Mass.

WITH FRIENDS LIKE THIS

C. BENTO DUARTE (LETTERS, OCT. 15) must know something that the bosses of southern factories don't. Having just finished a year-long strike with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in South Carolina, I was surprised to hear that it was "common knowledge" that we were striving for "lower wages and poor working conditions." The strikers and the company thought we were seeking higher pay and benefits.

If only Duarte had told the company that the union really wanted less pay, the strike could have been avoided. Furthermore, if Duarte could spread the word to all southern companies that the ILGWU wants to lower wages, they might stop fighting our organizing efforts.

I'm still not clear why thousands of

unionized firms come South and move abroad. Following Duarte's logic I can only assume that the "pro-capital" ILGWU is pushing so hard for low wages up North that these altruistic companies are moving south to pay higher wages. The reason these companies are paying millions to anti-union lawyers, firing and blacklisting pro-union workers and having organizers beat up is because they want to pay more and the ILGWU won't let them.

I've heard this song before from Jesse Helms, the "Right to Work" Committee and the Chamber of Commerce.

With friends like Duarte, the labor movement doesn't need enemies.

—Stephen Lerner
Charlotte, N.C.

ALRIGHT, ALREADY!

WHEN POLITICS AND ECONOMICS have me down, and even radical history only dulls the pain of the *Weltschmerz*, I spell relief C-U-L-T-U-R-E. Pat Aufderheide and her cast of irregulars continue to give the kind of media coverage you can't find in the *Village Voice*, the *TV Guide* and the *New York Times*. Like a willingness to take TV content seriously and the investigative ability to find out what the latest developments in form suggest about the possible futures. Or the capacity to continue throwing left punches without looking weary and sounding—as so many cultural columns of radical papers do—like a broken record. There's even a little humor! I wouldn't pass up a single page of *ITT*. But I wonder how many other readers start from the back.

—Paul Buhle
Providence, R.I.

RUNAWAY HAZARDS

THANK YOU FOR THE EYE-OPENING report of the darker side of Silicon Valley (*ITT*, Oct. 8). Generally, I have viewed the microelectronics industry as quiet, clean, almost genteel among manufacturing firms.

Living in Durham, N.C., home of the Research Triangle Park, I have been delighted that our pro-development governor has turned his attention toward the recruiting of microelectronics firms to our area, clearly (I thought) a step forward for our textile-dominated economy. However, Martinez and Ramo's article clarified for me some reasons for our governor's enthusiasm—(1) the microelectronics firms will allow existing anti-union forces to keep their firm grip on North Carolina's work force, and (2) surely chemical hazards are no more difficult to disclaim than the crippling brown lung disease experienced by our cotton mill workers.

Workers in the industrial Northeast and Midwest states must resent the exodus of industry to the "Sunbelt" states. The microelectronics situation is one of many illustrating that the benefits of Sunbelt growth are not accruing to the Southern workers.

—Donna Dyer
Economic Development Planner
Triangle Park, N.C.

SIGNING UP

I CONTINUE TO BE IMPRESSED BY BOTH the content and the consistently excellent style of *ITT*.

And it's time to put my money where it can do some good and join the ranks of your sustainers. As one who shuns daily newspapers and doesn't even own a TV, I rely on *ITT* to keep me informed as to what's happening out there.

Best of luck as you enter your fifth year.

—Donna Bird
Albany, N.Y.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Part II: History & Development



CO-OPS

New wave co-ops prosper

This is second in a three-part series on the history and current state of the cooperative movement in the United States.

By John Magney

COOPERATIVES HAVE BEEN part of American life for more than a hundred years. They came into being with the early protests against the industrial revolution, and for many years they were viewed as an alternative to capitalist enterprise.

Early labor unions often promoted cooperatives. Prior to the Civil War, the Workingmen's Protective Association established more than 1,000 cooperatively run stores for its members from New England as far west as Illinois. Later in the century, in the 1880s, the Knights of Labor organized several hundred small co-op factories and stores to provide jobs for striking workers and sell goods at a discount to union members.

In the midwestern farm belt, the Grange and Farmer's Alliance launched farm marketing and supply co-ops in the wake of the grass-roots agitation against the banking and railroad interests. And up in the logging and mining regions of northern Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan, socialist Finnish immigrants organized co-op boarding houses, stores and a Cooperative Central Exchange.

Many early cooperatives lasted only a short time. Many failed because of poor organization and management and the lack of adequate capital. Others were forced out of business by hostile local business interests. "The Knights of Labor...stores and factories," writes co-op historian Paula Giese, "had been turned out, bombed out, wrecked by company agents, forced out economically or abandoned."

Despite such problems, the co-op movement managed to grow, and by the time of World War I, there were an estimated 2,000 small co-ops around the country. Many of these were run by socialists, though few had formal ties with the old Socialist Party.

During the 1920s, following the split in the Socialist Party over Bolshevism, the co-op movement was torn by bitter dissension over its relation to the Communist Party. One of the leaders in the fight against the Communists was J.P. Warbasse, a former surgeon who had founded the Cooperative League in 1916. Warbasse thoroughly disagreed with the Communist view that co-ops should be part of the working-class struggle. "Co-operation is not a class movement," he argued. "It is based on the interests of all people. It does not recognize class nor set one class against another."

Warbasse and his allies won the battle. The Communists were expelled from leadership positions in the movement, and co-op ideology shifted towards a more positive view of capitalism. "The enemy was no longer the bosses but rather price gougers and profit-taking middlemen," notes Cy O'Neil in his study, *Origins and Legacies*.

The Depression triggered another wave of interest in co-ops. Upton Sinclair popularized the idea in his book *Co-op*, King Vidor showed the country in his epic film, *Our Daily Bread*, how unemployed families could build a cooperative farm, and—most important—the New Deal threw its weight behind several key pieces of co-op legislation. In 1933, the Farm Credit system was extended to allow federal loans to farm co-ops; in 1934, federal charters for credit unions were authorized; and in 1936, government loans to rural electric co-ops were authorized in the Rural Electrification Act.

By the end of the '30s, there were more than 3,000 local co-ops around the country, providing everything from groceries to hardware, gasoline, electricity, telephone and water service, insurance, health care and even burial plots. Several of the older farm supply co-ops had built up multi-million dollar sales volumes, and had developed enough clout to affect market prices in some areas. An article published by the Cooperative League in 1938 told how the Midwestern Farm Bureau co-ops had "busted" the monopoly pricing of fertilizer.

The years following World War II brought further growth for the farm co-ops. As in the corporate sector, there was a lot of consolidation of local outlets into bigger organizations. Several of these "co-op conglomerates"—such as Farmland Industries—moved onto *Fortune's* list of the country's largest companies. Rural electric co-ops and credit unions also posted big gains after the war.

Retailing.

Consumer goods co-ops didn't fare as well, however. Many stores lacked sufficient capital to compete with the new high-volume supermarkets, and went out of business. By the 1960s there were some 300 co-op stores still in operation around the country. Most were large supermarkets.

The co-op movement grew increasingly conservative during the cold war and "McCarthy" years. Farm co-ops regularly decried the evils of "Communist subversion," while the Cooperative League put out statements calling co-operators "the best single guarantee against the possible growth of the totalitarian movement."

A few leaders continued to advocate Warbasse's idealistic view of co-ops as a tool for social reform. But others fell into the practice of portraying co-ops as an integral part of "free enterprise." And no less an authority than the *Harvard Business Review* concluded: "Co-operatives are generally recognized as a special kind of managerial institution... that is very much part of the capitalist system."

Many of the old co-ops have indeed come to resemble their capitalist competitors. The farm co-ops are as committed to high-technology agriculture as Tenneco, International Harvester and the private agribusiness giants. Rural



electric co-ops lobby for nuclear power along with the private utilities. And co-op grocery stores peddle the same highly processed foods sold in Safeway, Kroger and A&P.

Big co-ops also have bureaucratic structures similar to private corporations. And their managers talk the same language as corporate managers. "We have to perform similarly to other corporations in attracting personnel, building efficient facilities, and operating the business with all the proper business techniques," W.W. Kast, an executive of Gold Kist (a southern farm co-op) told the *Harvard Business Review*.

And occasionally, like private corporations, co-ops have gotten caught using improper business techniques. During the LBJ and Nixon years, as was revealed during Watergate, dairy co-ops channeled thousands of dollars of illegal campaign contributions to their friends in the White House and Congress.

Co-op democracy has also become largely a meaningless slogan in the old bureaucratic co-ops. In the Consumer's Co-op of Berkeley, a semblance of member control is maintained through the

competition of two factions ("progressives" and "conservatives") for board seats. But in most cases, members have very little say over co-op policies. As Alex Laidlaw, a Canadian co-op expert, puts it: "In early days, if you wanted to find out how cooperatives were doing, you talked to farmers in the field...or to fishermen out on the wharves.... Now you have to make an appointment to meet the chief executive officer in a carpeted and panelled office with posh decor."

Organizers of the "new wave" co-ops in the early 1970s were extremely critical of the "bureaucratic corruption" of the old co-ops. And, out of their experiences in the anti-war and counter-cultural movements, they developed a vision of cooperation reminiscent of the early (pre-World War I) anarchist-socialist ideas of cooperation: co-ops should be small participatory bodies of workers and consumers, with a minimum of hierarchy, and actively supportive of farm-workers' strikes, women's liberation and other efforts to change society.

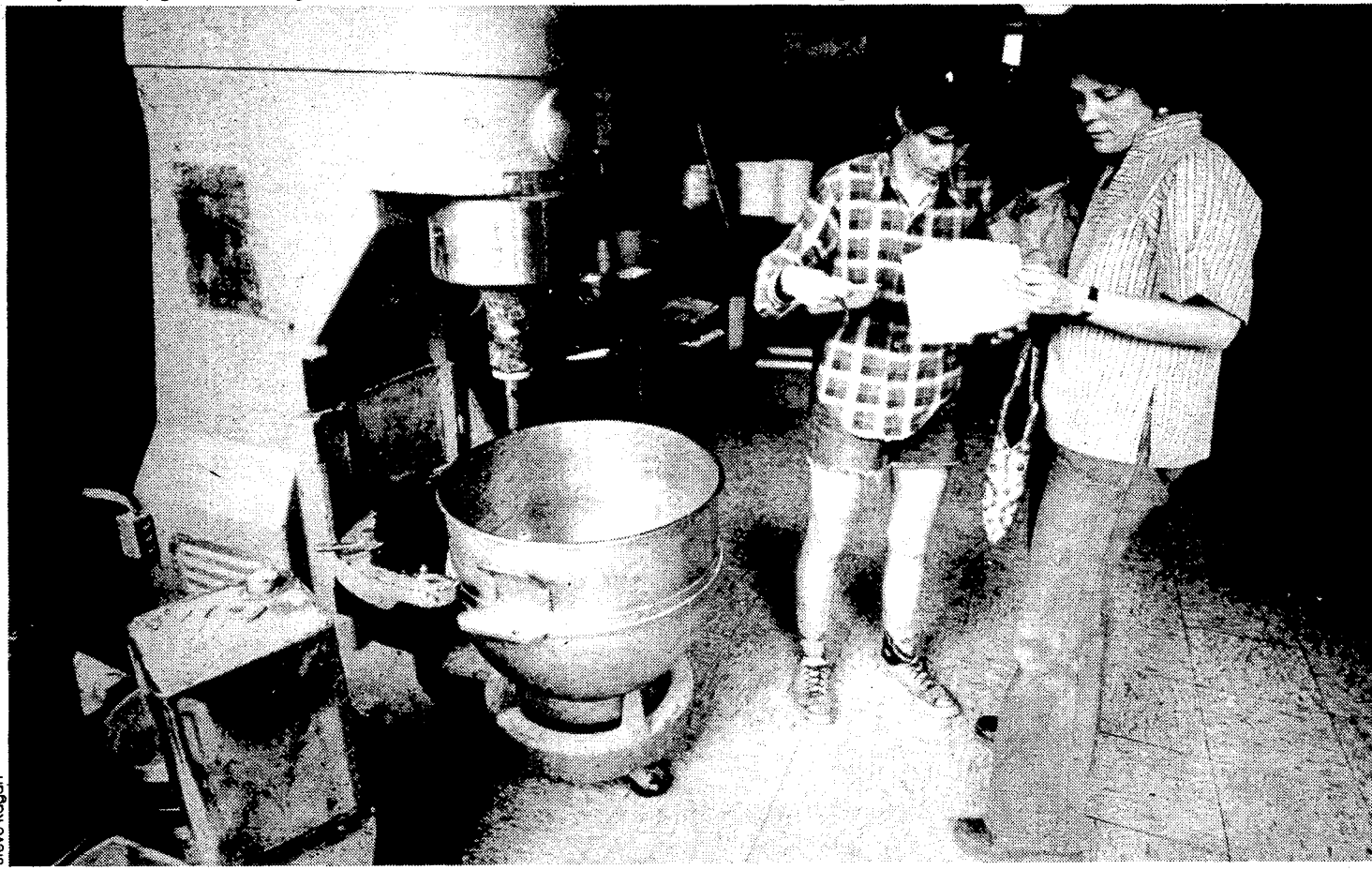
The new wave movement has undergone a lot of growth during the past ten years. But, so far, this has not come at the expense of the original vision. "Sure, we've grown, but it's been an appropriate growth," explains Bill Hogan, manager of Milwaukee's Outpost co-op. "We've adopted some straight business techniques, but we don't use all of them. ...And we've kept our commitments to pure food, ecologically sensible lifestyles, the anti-nuke stuff and all the rest of it."

Unlike the old bureaucratic co-ops, new wave stores and buying clubs are run primarily on the volunteer labor of members. Many require their members to work. One consequence, of course, has been lower prices. Another has been greater member involvement in co-op decision-making. "It's had a lot to do with our ability to survive," says Paul Brown of the Michigan Federation of Food Co-ops. "It's one of our real strengths."

Working conditions in new wave co-ops are also quite democratic. In most cases, all paid employees receive the same wages and benefits, though sometimes there are provisions for dependents or seniority. (At the Madison Intra Community Cooperative warehouse, workers get an extra \$38/week for each dependent, along with the basic package of \$5.60/hour, four weeks paid vacation, and medical and dental coverage.) Employees also usually have a strong voice in co-op decisions, through worker representatives on their co-op boards of directors. "I think we've been real innovative in this whole area of democratic management," observes Dotty Sandberg, former ICC communications coordinator.

John Magney has worked in co-ops and has been a consultant and researcher for co-ops for several years. He is now a director of the Intra-Community Cooperative, a federation of "new wave" co-ops in Wisconsin and northern Michigan.

Next: Co-ops: Their future.



LIFE IN THE U.S.

SOCIAL TRENDS

Investment on the verge of apocalypse

By Bruce Merrill

SALT LAKE CITY

A FORTRESS BESIEGED: INSIDE the walled compound of Temple Square, Elder Bruce McConkie intones, "We live in a day of evil and wickedness. The generality of men are carnal, sensual and devilish. They have forgotten God and are reveling in lusts of the flesh. Crime, immorality, abortions, and homosexual abominations are fast becoming the norm of life among the wicked and ungodly. The world will soon be as corrupt as it was in the days of Noah." The faithful nod in concurrence.

Outside the compound, the besiegers:

Pessimists are hoarding gold and silver. But "survivalists" prefer to stock up on food and ammo, and raise rabbits.

75 picketers, organized by Ex-Mormons for ERA, are chanting, "ERA won't go away!" And in the sky an airplane is pulling a banner that reads, "Mrs. God hates sexism. Repent and ratify." The timing for all this is the sesquicentennial celebration of the founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The day before, President Kimball, considered the living prophet by the devout, warned that without family values, society would "disintegrate into nothingness.... The time will come when only those who believe deeply and actively in the family will be able to preserve their families in the midst of the gathering evil around us."

As popular as preserving the family from its adversaries, was the theme of imminent chaos. Apostle Ezra Taft Benson (Secretary of Agriculture under Eisenhower), whose Birchite pronouncements will enjoy prophetic status when Kimball dies, reminded the Mormons that "the lord has decreed global calamities," suggesting war, economic disaster, earthquakes or famine. To prepare for this inevitability, they had best observe the perennial injunction to maintain a cash reserve, a vegetable garden, and a year's supply of food. The indolent were not to expect the assistance of the church during the coming disaster.

That day the gathering evil was even closer. When the time came to sustain the prophet, three women stood and shouted, "No!"—only the second time such an occurrence had happened in the history of the church. Since for many Mormons the dissenters' support for ERA implied an endorsement of abortion, homosexuality, pornography, big government and capitulation to the Russians, the presence of these women inside Temple Square was testimony to the ever-enlarging powers of Satan.

This scenario of embattlement and apocalypse is nothing new for Mormons. Joseph Smith, the founder, was killed by a lynch mob. In the 19th century, when the time came to end polygamy and open the desert empire to Eastern capital, federal troops marched on Utah, church

leaders were imprisoned and their church dissolved by judicial decree. Feeling surrounded by enemies is a commonplace for the maintenance of partisan fervor; its function for the LDS church is no different than its function for Albania or Synanon.

And Mormons have always lived in the "Latter-days." Their Salt Lake Temple is topped by the Angel Moroni, who will sound his trumpet when the final chapter is upon us. The practice of food storage, a plausible precaution in Brigham Young's time, is now a test of faith, and constant testimony to imminent disaster.

Popularity.

What is new is that these kinds of sentiments can now be found all over the place. The apocalypse is with us again. In the classifieds of many publications we now find listings that read: "Discount food storage. Are you prepared for natural or economic emergencies? Dehydrated or freeze-dried food delivered to your door." Or, "Books on identity change, improvised weapons, survival military science. Best prices on water purifiers."

In the media we find interviews with the "survivalists" to whom these ads are addressed. They were typically the proud owners of a cabin off in the emptiness of Montana or Arkansas, stocked with 40 gallons of purified water, 200 lbs of dried beans, fuel, lots of flashlight batteries and a shotgun. As with the Mormons, there is often no clear opinion as to what kind of disaster is at hand, economic collapse, volcanoes, revolution, Trilateral take-over, World War III.... Something's coming. And it usually seems to be due within the next few years—1983 at the very latest.

A more respectable version of apocalyptic thinking has been much in evidence on Wall Street lately, as indicated in the amazing run-up in gold, and big speculation in silver brought to light by the shenanigans of the Hunt brothers. Mexico, Canada, Russia and the U.S. have joined South Africa in the practice of minting gold coins to sell the "gold bugs" who can't afford a bar of it. Their ads can be found all over *Barron's* and the *Wall Street Journal*, along with the ads of the "doomsday" school of financial advisors who are telling you to buy them up. And they're being bought.

One can rank the pessimists by just how much they think will be going down the drain: the stock market, the real estate market, the dollar, the American way of life, world food distribution, or the planet. While the gold bugs are preparing for inflation, hyper-inflation, or monetary collapse, the pure survivalist will laugh at this naivete. You can't eat gold, and the poor gold bugs (assuming they make it out of the cities), will be reduced to trading their Krugerrands for bowls of rice—a good reason to stash an extra bag of it in the food cellar.

The most prominent doomsday advisor is Howard Ruff, gold bug and survivalist. He publishes a newsletter, *Ruff Times*, and his syndicated TV show, *Ruff House*, is all over the U.S. And he put out a "runaway best-seller" *How to Prosper During the Coming Bad Years*.

Some of the attributes that have struck commentators as abnormal about Ruff—the fact that he advocates storing food, is obsessed with nutrition and has nine children—are normal for Mormons. And Ruff is Mormon.

Survival business.

We are now in a period where the Mormon sense of the apocalyptic can be marketed in a big way. Ruff has been

able to capitalize on the tremendous anxiety on the right: "You are reading this book because you are perceptive enough to sense that something is terribly wrong out there and you are one of millions of Americans with a growing sense of unease about the future."

Ruff has a fairly specific scenario for what is in store for us. Government spending and personal debt will lead to ever-increasing inflation. The government will impose price controls. These will fail. The economy will implode.

His advice: Avoid banks. Avoid stocks, except gold mining stocks. Treasury Bills are o.k. because "the T-Bill market will be the last market to go broke and that will give you time to get your funds out." Buy gold, and diamonds. Pre-1965 coins are highly recommended as their silver content will serve you well when dodging price controls and taxes.

Move to a small town, since the cities will collapse. Set up a garden. Store enough food and vitamins to last for at least a year. (Over 40 pages are devoted to this subject.) Raising rabbits is recommended. Buy ahead: functional items like tires, spark plugs, tools will be scarce and will barter well. And buy

fortunately for Ruff, will be caught in the cities. However, you can pull in a lot of bucks while all this is going on. And it doesn't take hard work, just put your money in the right places, and let it work for you.

The irrelevance of Ruff's sanctimoniousness to his practical advice is indicated by the presence of that very same advice in the recent volume, *Crisis Investing*, by Douglas Casey. This is published and introduced by the exceedingly un-Christian Robert Ringer, who has already made his quota of big bucks by writing and publishing *Looking Out for #1* and *Winning Through Intimidation*. In his introduction, Ringer is busy selling through intimidation, as he warns of "economic collapse, chaos, and ensuing totalitarian rule." Should Casey's regurgitation of Ruff's precautions be insufficient, he also offers a consulting service and a newsletter. Mr. Casey says: "I'm looking to change the world and the course of civilization by trying to find other people who believe in a free market society."

A constant theme in all this is that we have fallen away from the sober practices of yesteryear. Some will be punished for this. Others will make a lot of



some guns. Mr. Ruff bought five, and "as much ammo as I could afford."

Ruff has been so successful because he stands at the confluence of two movements that have been gathering steam: the Christian right, and the Easy Money through Speculation school. This two-fold appeal is injected into the title of his book, which sounds like "You can make Big Money, even during Armageddon!" Ruff's book contains a chapter explaining how homosexuality, pornography and premarital sex destroy families and the economy.

The proponents of these attitudes,

money. The, we must get back to the old ways.

But one rather remarkable truth about Messrs. Ringer, Ruff and Casey is that all this "Restoring the American Dream" (to borrow a phrase from Ringer) has nothing to do with work or production. These gentlemen are not laboring, and they are not building factories or modernizing machinery. It's all speculation, consulting, real estate and money-spinning.

Whose dream was that?

Bruce Merrill is writing a study of liberal political theory.

INPRINT



AMERICAN MORES

Taking our moral temperature

No One Here Gets Out Alive
By Jerry Hopkins and Daniel Sugerman
Warner, 387 pp., \$7.95

Jambeaux
Laurence Gonzales
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 275 pp., \$9.95

A Rumor of War
By Philip Caputo
Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 346 pp., \$10.00

Fortune's Child
Lewis H. Lapham
Doubleday, 359 pp., \$14.95

American Dreams: Lost and Found
By Studs Terkel
Pantheon, 470 pp., \$14.95

Zero-Sum Society
By Lester C. Thurow
Basic Books, 230 pp., \$12.95

Human Scale
By Kirkpatrick Sale
Coward, McCann and Geogegan, \$9.95

Entropy: A New World View
By Jeremy Rifkin and Ted Howard
Viking, 305 pp., \$10.95

Nuclear Nightmares
By Nigel Calder
Viking, 188 pp., \$10.95

By William A. Williams

Election campaigns remind me of the old saw about candy is dandy but liquor is quicker. Books are seductive but TV is rape. It's vital to think for yourself, and some recent books gave us much-needed information for our election-day choices.

We can begin with a mediocre book about a young rebel who spoke some powerful and disturbing truths about American society. *No One Here Gets Out Alive*, by Jerry Hopkins and Daniel Sugerman, is a disjointed biography of Jim Morrison,

the soul, poet and lead singer of The Doors, indisputably the nitty-grittiest rock and roll group ever spawned by American culture. For better and worse, Jim Morrison did engage the minds and inflame the loins of a very great many young people.

If you want to think seriously about the abortion issue, for example, read the exchanges between Morrison and some of his bed-mates. And then consider his reflections on the issue. Morrison was always in trouble because he never backed off. He understood the importance of a sexual revolution in a Puritan culture. But in the course of that subversive activity he sensed that a revolution defined only by sexual liberation would largely serve the interests and the power of the status quo. Instead of bread and circuses, sex as revolution would be nothing more than bed as circus.

So, after becoming famous with "Light My Fire," a wildly erotic call to orgasm, Morrison and the Doors moved on to such tough social commentary as "The Unknown Soldier," "Texas Radio" and "The Soft Parade." Morrison said many things relevant to this election, but there is one line from "Texas Radio" that we might all keep in mind. "No eternal reward will forgive us now for wasting the dawn."

In his own way, however messed up it was, Morrison was speaking to our failure to confront and deal with the fundamental issues of our imperial history. Put simply, we have taken much of our wealth and welfare from other peoples. I think that it is possible, even probable, that the reason we are so uneasy about the men and women who fought in Vietnam has to do with our evasion of

that truth. We sent them out to another frontier, but then it came to pass that the true frontier was back here at home. And we have yet to come to terms with that truth.

Laurence Gonzales' *Jambeaux* speaks to those matters with great power. The standard command going into combat in Vietnam was "Load and lock." You do not need to say that too many times to realize that it sounds like rock and roll. Gonzales builds his story on that conjunction. It is a powerful book. If you have any children 20 or under, you should read it to come to know them.

If you are a bit older, then read the wrenching autobiography of a Marine in Vietnam: *A Rumor of War* by Philip Caputo. Perhaps you saw the TV version. The book is better. Caputo tells us how the reality of empire destroys the belief in empire. It is not pleasant.

Civilians learn that lesson. Lewis H. Lapham, editor of *Harpers*, is deeply concerned about what empire does to us. His collection of essays, *Fortune's Child*, is annoying in the very best sense. If you think you are a liberal, he will make you a conservative. And vice versa. Consider "the indifference of the press toward poverty, hunger, the iniquities of the tax laws, or prisons on days when nobody riots." News makes the empire work.

Studs Terkel, talking about us and our *American Dreams: Lost and Found*, reports that the empire leaves much to be desired. Oral history is an extremely tricky—if not dangerous—way of finding and reporting the truth. We know how to deal with the people who come knocking on our doors to rape our minds. We send them off to hell by telling them what they want to hear.

Studs knows that but hangs around to find out why we tell him to go to hell. The only way to judge a book like this is to be lucky and know someone who is a dear friend of someone interviewed by Studs. And my friend who had the friend says, "Well, the only thing to say is that he got it right." The woman in question was seriously upset about the state of the nation.

So is Lester C. Thurow of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. MIT made its reputation through science, engineering and various professional schools. And then MIT realized that none of that counted for very much except money unless you also learned about history, literature and politics.

Which is to say that if all you know is the hard stuff, then your life is limited. You got the job and the money and you are a flunky. To ask the questions, to define the options, you need the history, the literature and the politics. Thurow is asking the right questions: *The Zero-Sum Society*. He says bluntly that our favorite answers (more and more and more) no longer make any sense. We can no longer have everything we want. Hence choices involve pain and suffering.

We Americans like to prattle on and on about the truth of there being no free lunch. But in truth we have been living off the free lunch for the better part of three centuries. We took the continent, and then we took whatever else we wanted for our welfare. But the game is over. We must come to terms with the truth that there is no free lunch.

Kirkpatrick Sale speaks to that issue in *Human Scale*. The book is too long and repetitive, but Sale is talking about the right issues. Say, for example, the opti-

mum size of cities. But Sale is primarily concerned with how we humans can regain control of our individual and collective lives. Which means he is concerned with power: Who gets to ask the questions and set the limits on the answers. It is difficult to think of a more relevant question in a national election.

Jeremy Rifkin and Ted Howard go after the same truth in *Entropy: A New World View*. The issue is simple: We cannot create or destroy energy. We can only change its form. Or, to be properly American about it all: How much energy does it cost to obtain the energy to sustain our existing way of life? We all know what it is about. How much money do I have to go fishing, or out to dinner, or whatever, after all the bills are paid. What is the cost of success?

So right off the mark Rifkin is asking the tough questions. Does it make any sense to turn coal or shale into gasoline if in the process we burn more coal and use the water that would otherwise produce food? To go back to Thuro: not only is there no free lunch, but some lunches are very expensive.

Then we confront the morality of it all. We use about 30 percent of the world's resources to enrich our 6 percent of the world's population. Our justification, by and large, is that we are helping everyone else do as we do. But the truth of it is that there is no way for the rest of the world to become rich as we are rich.

It is impossible.

That puts us in a bit of a box. Indeed, at least two boxes.

In the first place, not even all of us in America are rich. In the second place, those truths speak to this reality: either we change our way of life or we fight nuclear wars in the insane hope that we can clutch our credit cards to our souls.

Nuclear war is highly probable. The odds have less to do with Reagan or Carter than with our unwillingness to face reality. If we insist upon life as usual we will have nuclear war. It is as simple as that. No one talks as simply and quietly and bluntly about all this as Nigel Calder in *Nuclear Nightmares*.

It is eerie the way that Calder, a Cambridge University scientist, tells us in ice-cold prose the same things that Jim Morrison told us in high emotion in "Texas Radio." Calder says, "It's all utterly mad, as any visiting alien from another planet would tell you." And so back to Morrison: "No eternal reward will forgive us now for wasting the dawn."

Finally, I always go back to Lewis Carroll. You know: *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass*. I think any sane adult should read those books at least once a year. In any event, most certainly in any election year.

There is so much wisdom there that it is hard to choose which story to retell. But I will go with Humpty Dumpty.

"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be the master—that's all."

Ah, so. Who is to be master.

William Appleman Williams' most recent book is *Empire As a Way of Life*. He is president of the Organization of American Historians.

THE BLACKLIST

Shame of Hollywood recalled

By Larry Ceplair

Victor Navasky's examination of a culture devastated by belief that a Soviet conspiracy is about to engulf the world could not be better timed. Centering his narrative on the 30 or so Hollywood film people who cooperated with the domestic Cold War machine of the early '50s by naming colleagues they had known in the Communist party, Navasky asks why these people "went along" and with what consequences.

Navasky is a gifted journalist and, from the evidence of this book, a sympathetic listener. It is difficult to imagine anyone else being able, at least at this point, to glean the same amount of confessional, contradictory, self-serving and bitter commentary from the surviving informers.

In a chapter entitled "The Reasons Why," Navasky presents the reader with edited interviews with 11 Hollywood informers. The tone can be the still-seething anger of a Budd Schulberg: "I thought that what was happening in Russia was more repressive than anything we were doing in this country, and I didn't trust people who didn't want to fight it." People like Lillian Hellman, Dalton Trumbo and Ring Lardner Jr. "bullshit about freedom. These are Nazis posing as libertarians." Or it is the anguish of a David Raskin: "I have condemned myself in a way I wouldn't condemn the Jews of the Spanish Inquisition," he says. "This is the kind of issue you die over."

Even though Navasky subjects the explanations of these people to a devastating critique, the reader learns more about informing from the section on James Wechsler (then an editor of the *New York Post*) and the chapter on Elia Kazan (the most highly regarded and highly-paid stage and screen director of that era). Both men, still defenders of their decisions, reveal the poisonous effects on society of government-sponsored, business-approved and media-legitimized witch hunts.

The invention of a Communist conspiracy forced everyone who had had any contact with politics in the previous decades into an individual search of conscience. That search did not turn on the quality or substance of

Director Elia Kazan still defends his decision to collaborate.



Employers' Cold Warism (above, Louis B. Mayer at a Korean War rally on MGM steps) was crucial to the effectiveness of blacklisting.

the "Red menace"—many militant anti-Stalinists did not cooperate with congressional investigating committees. Rather the decision to resist or cooperate came down to one's perceived ability or willingness to face the consequences of resistance.

One of the resisters, Abraham

Polonsky, noted: "In most cases the informers picked a route that seemed to them an easy solution to a difficult problem; in other words, they could handle their own friends, whom they testified against, better than they could handle the U.S. government harassing them." Or, he could have

added, the prospect of losing their jobs.

Lack of community.

Not only did the decision to inform reveal that American society lacked a firm base of support of the rights of others to hold different, even dangerous, opin-

ions. It also showed the fragility of community. No matter how much soul-searching preceded the decision to name names, no matter what values or institutions might have been protected by the informant's cooperation, the costs had to be borne by others whose only means of protecting themselves was to become informers themselves.

Liberal or reluctant informers like Wechsler and Kazan—not willing espionage informers such as Whittaker Chambers or conspiracy informers such as Louis Budenz—were, in Navasky's estimation, "the major contributors to the cultural context and the moral environment that routinized betrayal." That routinization produced an informer subculture in Hollywood that Navasky recreates in all its horrifying detail.

He shows how the blacklist was created and administered, he sketches revealing profiles of those who made careers and reputations pandering to the blacklist (notably the attorney Martin Gang and the pseudo-psychologist Phil Cohen), he demonstrates how putative protectors of civil rights (the ACLU and the Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Federation Council) learned how to divorce the principles they claimed to uphold from the spokespeople of those principles, and he describes the abject bending to prevailing winds of every Hollywood institution that had the potential to resist (movie producers, talent agencies, talent guilds, craft unions, and trade papers).

Detective story.

Navasky sets his foundations carefully with definitions, categories, and a long list of questions. The answers to these questions—"How did it come to pass that scores of otherwise decent individuals were compelled to betray a moral presumption? What are the conditions under which good men do things they know to be wrong? What are the consequences of betrayal and

Continued on page 31

Short Notice

Literary San Francisco: A Pictorial History from Its Beginnings to the Present Day

By Lawrence Ferlinghetti and Nancy J. Peters
City Lights and Harper & Row, 254 pp., \$15.95

Two literary radicals, co-directors of City Lights Books, have written a history of America's most bohemian corner.

Peters, a literary historian, captures the personalities of authors such as Ambrose Bierce, Frank Norris, Jack London and Upton Sinclair. Peters' appreciation of women writers from the well remembered Gertrude Atherton and Charlotte Perkins Stetson (later Gilman) to now-forgotten figures like Meta Frances Victor (author of powerful anti-slavery novels during the Civil War and probably the first popular novelist to praise Nat Turner) is impressive. So is her description of eccentrics like visionary Thomas Lake Harris and fantasist Clark Ashton Smith.

Ferlinghetti's 20th-century is a tale in a different mood. Hammett, Sinclair and Oscar Lewis, Patchen and Rexroth lead up to the vibrant cultural wave of the late 1940s. He recalls *Circle* and *Ark* magazines, anti-war mili-

tance and prescient ecological consciousness, and moves on to Jack Kerouac, Lenny Bruce and the "San Francisco scene" number of *Evergreen Review* (1957). Without meanness, Ferlinghetti finds a continuity between the stance of self-style rebels with est-consciousness. But younger writers like Frank Chin, Ishmael Reed and Al Young, along with veterans such as Philip Lamantia, he claims, are the promise of a new San Francisco Renaissance. Try this book for clues to the possibilities of the American imagination. **PB**

Periodicals of Public Interest Organizations

Commission for the Advancement of Public Interest Organizations, 1875 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20009, \$4 for public interest and citizen groups, \$5 for individuals and schools, \$15 for others

Have you heard of *Powerline*, *Food Monitor*, *Rural America*, *Defense Monitor*, *Pension Facts*, *40 Acres and a Mule*, *Self-Reliance* or *Rain*? Each is a progressive public interest newsletter devoted to a specific cause. Like most of the 102 publications compiled in this handy guide,

they are both fact-filled and committed. If you want to know what's going to happen in politics and public interest action on behalf of ecology, community, equity, equality and other noble values, the newsletters and magazines listed here are invaluable. But it is also curious what is left out in this list. There are no labor-oriented publications, for example—indication of the continuing strained separation of the self-identified "public interest" groups and organized labor. **DM**

The New Life Hotel

By Edward Hower
Avon, \$2.95

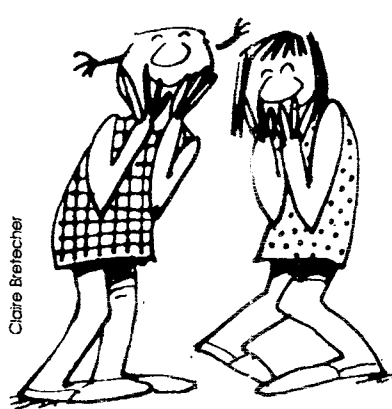
You'd never know it from the lurid cover, but this is a moving novel about post-colonial society (an East African state, in this case). Written from the semi-autobiographical perspective of a young American—once a do-gooder and hippie, now a teacher and forever in search of himself—it focuses on two African women, both casualties of circumstance. One is a mixed-race prostitute without roots and the other an ex-guerrilla whose roots have been cut off. It's the kind of novel Leonard Woolf (*The Village in the Jungle*) might have written if he were an American today. **PA**

Pulling Our Own Strings: Feminist Humor and Satire

By Gloria Kaufman and Mary Kay Blakely, Indiana University Press, 192 pp., \$7.95

Women can do more than take

a joke. They make 'em up. Here is a collection that compiles evidence—snappy sayings (What Flo Kennedy said to the robed judge who told her a pantsuit was not proper court attire), fiction excerpts (*The Women's Room*, *Rubyfruit Jungle*), cartoons (Claire Bretecher and Nicole Hollander among them),



songs, essays, nightclub routines, poetry—that there is such a thing as feminist humor. This selection, suitable for browsing, well establishes the point, and marks the coming of age of a kind of writing. It may even introduce you to a new writer or graphic artist.

Some of us are writing more than others of us, of course. If this selection is representative, the voices of most black, ethnic and poor women continue to be muffled under the strain of that perennial question: "Why aren't you smiling?" **PA**

Contributors: Paul Buhle, David Moberg, Pat Aufderheide

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM



Dora Maria with other Sandinista leaders

Women's war in Nicaragua

By Pat Aufderheide

Women made up at least 30 percent of the fighters in the Nicaraguan revolution. They fought with M-16s in the mountains, with bombs tucked in apron pockets in the cities, they led combat units, they cut holes in walls to hide and smuggle fighters through. For journalist Victoria Schultz, on assignment in Nicaragua for Scandinavian TV, the importance of women in the revolution was so striking that she scraped up funds from international TV, grants and loans to return to Nicaragua for a documentary film on the subject.

The result is *Women in Arms*, a solid, hour-long color documentary. Throughout the focus is twofold: what did it mean—both for men and women—for women to play such an active role in the revolution? And second, where are they going from here? Although this documentary records a moment in Nicaragua's revolution that is now history—the early days of victory—much of the information is still fresh. Watching all those breasts in this movie suddenly made me wonder where they were in all the other images I had of revolution in Central America today.

The women matter of factly recall their fighting days. There is the 16-year-old commander, terrifyingly self-possessed; the middle-aged mother of nine whose eloquence is in her eyes; the young mother who talks of her daughters' terror of any uniform after living in fear of the National Guard. Students, peasants, domestic workers, factory workers—all of them drive home the remarkable social unity of the last days of fighting. They almost find baffling the task of explaining why they played such an active, equal role in battle. "For freedom," they

say. "For Nicaragua."

The men's perceptions tell us where the next struggles will be. A fellow commander of Dora Maria, the charismatic military commander who now holds a ministerial post, extolls her virtues, also commenting that women "are even prettier when they are fighting." The Minister of the Interior cheerily hopes that traditional sex roles will stay the same—"We're not losing our revolutionary courtesy," is his gallant phrasing—and then gets a hearty round of backslapping from his buddies.

Along with that macho gallantry is another old theme: the women's chant that men are no good. Women with babies in arms and children at their knees denounce their husbands for irresponsibility, desertion, for claiming children aren't theirs to duck child support. One gets a glimmering that the oppressive gallantry and the independence (chosen or not) of the women are part of the same system of insecurity and fear.

Nonetheless, the burst of social energy that revolution brings is evident. Women are opening

community centers, day care centers, are in military training, are organizers, farmworker association members. Much work lies ahead—military training is back to being sexually segregated, "to squelch rumors," and there are still no women foremen among farmworkers. But the biggest steps, the first, have been taken—and taken by women on their own.

The modest journalist's tone that the movie strikes never usurps, even with its enthusiasms, the heroism of these women. Nor does it remove

their struggle from the inconsistencies and limits of daily life. There are moments when Schultz tells us too little—for instance, women refer to a possible contraceptive ban. This, it turns out in questions after the film showing, was a Somocista rumor.

But most of the time the distance of the sympathetic foreigner is appropriate for this subject. There is a huge gap of understanding between North American and Latin American women on the subject of feminism. You can see suspicion ("Is she a 'libber'?") flare into the eyes of young women fighters who are asked, "What does this fight mean to you in terms of women's struggle?" They don't quite know how to answer, except to stress that they fought for all Nicaragua.

Dora Maria perhaps translates best for them. She says, in an interview that threads through the film:

"Revolutionary processes have to liberate women. Any sort of process that doesn't—gradually perhaps—is no revolution.

"Women here have reached a certain point. They won't go back. They'll keep advancing—but always as women."

The film has been received enthusiastically in Nicaragua, where even the men laughed at some of its jokes. And Scandinavian TV reaction has also been positive. But Schultz, saddled with the inevitable debts of the independent filmmaker, does not face an easy task showing the film in the U.S. PBS reception has been cool. After being told by PBS to take the film to individual stations (this is the shell game, minus the pea, in public TV treatment of independents), she was told by one station manager that her film should be more "balanced."

There should have been interviews with women who didn't fight. It's always time, on public TV, for the Fairness Doctrine when what the PBS execs are pleased to call "special interests" are in question.

Women in Arms is available in Spanish and English from Hudson River Productions, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417, (201) 891-8240. \$100 rent, \$800 purchase. It will be shown at the Museum of Modern Art Dec. 9.

Movies in brief

Stardust Memories. Woody Allen's new film may give away more of his precious personal secrets than he imagines. It is a bitter, self-mocking whimsy about alienation and confusion among celebrities. As Allen has become so successful that he can dictate his artistic terms, the contrast between big dreams and little man has lost its populist edge. It's not just lonely at the top; it's lonely all over these days, and Allen used to know that.

Here Allen is filmmaker Sandy Bates, under an assault by fans at a Judith Crist-like weekend. Looming close-ups and ghoulish interchanges typify his view of the sycophantic crowd. While servicing his image, he also looks for a meaningful relationship and for something to say, but the trolls, dimwits and Martians (really) who surround him just want him to make funny movies. Their stupidity bothers him less than their suffocating gentility.

His problems with women suggest his problems with art. This Bates character asserts a

shared weakness and sensitivity with women he loves, and himself. But frail, nutty and self-destructive as they get, every one of them takes risks he wouldn't dream of.

It must be terribly disturbing to admire so helplessly those with the intensity to go mad, and to be condemned to entertain a society that denies any deep passion. That must be why this movie is so crabby. Allen keeps doing anything he can to keep from turning into a media pet—except to stay out of the limelight and to quit cracking jokes.

What makes Woody be funny? He could go home quietly and be a serious artist, if he only had something to say. Lacking that he produces a witty, sophisticated, sometimes precious celebration of anxiety. Further, he executes it with near-desperate references to "real" artists—Fellini, Bergman.

Still, with the traditional limits of a Woody Allen film, this is a much better movie than he is getting credit for. (The critics are smarting; Sarris at the *Voice*

whines about it being "mean-spirited," while it's really just very little.) Filmed in a rich black and white, the movie holds together without benefit of tight dramatic plotting. It has its moments of unique humor and, like every Woody Allen film so far, is a sharp commentary on men's inability to see women as people (and perhaps vice versa). PA

Elephant Man. Here's another case for black and white photography. In a film shot and edited with stately grace, any moment is more satisfying than the whole. The story, drawn from accounts rather than the play, doesn't have much to say: freaks are people too, and the poor and rich in Victorian England had different ways of not noticing that fact.

Still, the film has a quiet, hypnotic dignity, lent in part by David (Eraserhead) Lynch's off-beat direction and in part by John Hurt's sweet portrayal of the deformed hero.

This is a Mell Brooks-backed production. Comics have such a funny idea of what serious art is. PA

Union City. For dedicated followers of fashion only. This first-timer's movie, starring Deborah Harry (*Blondie*), con-

tains the new season's punk color code, as well as decorating hints for the loft set. A frail plot, referring vaguely to '50s working-class alienation, does not give much room to assess Harry as an actress, but it does not squelch hope, either. PA

John Hurt's "elephant man"



FINE ARTS

Musicians, actors cut their subsidy of culture

By Susan Cowell

While the crass commercialism of the entertainment industry is part of American folklore, the arts— theater, opera, ballet, classical music, the experimental modern arts— have been burdened with the myth of the idealistic, struggling artist. The individualism of the arts has complicated the efforts of artists' unions to get as many jobs at decent pay as possible for their members.

Actors whose pay covers their subway fare have little sympathy for the complaints of the Metropolitan Opera's orchestra members who are guaranteed employment at about \$31,000 a year. A union like Actors' Equity, that aggressively pursues better conditions for its members, meets resistance from members desperate for work at any wage—or none. The American Federation of Musicians, a rather laissez-faire union, faced a rank-and-file revolt in the late '60s by symphony and opera orchestra musicians who wanted to push harder to improve their own working conditions. That group, the International Conference of

money is not the main issue. The union argues that closing the house for a season will cost more than acceding to union demands. Management has agreed that the cost of the orchestra's demands is less important than "principle." The Met's treasurer said, "We've decided that while we are trying to raise our centennial fund, it is important to show the public and our donors that we are fiscally responsible."

An element in the musicians' demand for four instead of five performances a week (with no reduction in rehearsal time) is their sense that they are treated as cogs in a very complex machine. The opera schedule proceeds relentlessly, seven performances a week, every week, during the September through April New York season, without regard for the musicians' needs as people (for example, to get a day off on Thanksgiving or Christmas) or as artists.

Met management, they feel, sees the musicians as servants performing at the will of their wealthy patrons. Their anger focuses on Anthony Bliss, the executive director. The open contempt of Bliss for the musicians—saying, for example, in a press

kept government support to a minimum. In 1979 only 15 percent of contributions came from the government; 21 percent of contributions were from corporations or private foundations and 64 percent from individuals.

When the Metropolitan Opera was founded in 1883, it was owned by its boxholders, then the cream of New York society. The social tone of the Met has not changed much in the last century. The 29 managing directors of the Met are mostly very wealthy lawyers and executives. Of the 24 whose background I could find, only three have arts experience (two producers and one academic administrator). The rest qualified as potential donors—corporate or individual. There are five women among the directors. All five are listed in the Social Register, but none appears to have professional achievements. This control by wealthy patrons is typical. Many of the Met's directors serve on the boards of other cultural institutions as well as on the boards of both public and private foundations that support the arts.

The musicians I spoke with were aware of alternatives. Their knowledge of conditions in Europe contributes to their discon-

members are unemployed. Last year 13,000 of Equity's 30,000 members worked during the year, but only for an average of 17 weeks each.

Under these conditions, Equity's dilemma has been to prevent exploitation of members who are willing to work for virtually nothing without discouraging the development of new productions and theaters. The effort has been resourceful but always controversial.

Equity has worked out a complex system of classifying theaters to ensure that actors get a fair share of available funds. Broadway contracts establish a minimum salary of \$475 a week. Lower minimums are negotiated with groups of theaters in special categories, such as stock, regional theater, dinner theater. In addition, there are categories based on the size of a theater and its income for theaters that are small, experimental or new. Off-Broadway and Off-Off-Broadway refer not to location but to groups of theaters that fit Equity size restrictions.) The financial condition of theaters that operate on low scales is monitored to ensure that actors benefit as a theater's financial position improves.

Real and often bitter controversy has revolved around the lowest level in the system, the Showcase Code, first adopted in 1966. The Code sets standards for productions that pay virtually nothing and are therefore not under contract. It has met with opposition both inside and outside the union.

The concept was originally intended for productions that exhibited new work to producers

approval of growing numbers of shoe-string productions, beginning in the late '60s. The number of showcase productions grew, reaching a peak of 825 productions in New York City in the 1978-79 season. Over 4,000 Equity actors performed in these productions for wages of about \$1 a day.

The new respectability of unconventional theater since the late '60s has increased the chance of



Met director Anthony Bliss

salaries for showcase actors. The union responded to the availability of some public or foundation money for experimental theater by demanding that 15-20 percent of a theater's income go to actors' salaries. The second are of possible pay for actors was subsidiary rights. In the late '60s, a number of showcase productions graduated to contract status and two, *Hair* and *The Boys in the Band*, became commercial hits. In the first five years of the Showcase Code, the union collected \$250,000 in subsidiary rights for its members.

However, few Off-Off-Broadway productions make it to Hollywood. Most go on to financially-strapped regional or Off-Broadway theaters. The recession makes producers less willing to absorb the extra expense of paying off showcase actors whom they cannot use. New plays become that much more risky and playwrights find less demand for their work.

The playwrights are now fighting back and the Dramatists' Guild is filing suit against Equity. Neither side is happy with the inter-union dispute. Terry Curtis Fox, a playwright and critic, wrote in the *Village Voice* last week, "Playwrights are many things, but we are not employers. When it comes to bargaining with theaters, playwrights and actors should be on the same side."

Equity staffers sympathize with the problem of struggling playwrights and the language of the Showcase Code has been revised to reduce the playwright's legal liability. However, they insist that their members need subsidiary rights for working for nearly nothing, and that those rights are inevitably attached to a play.

Subsidiary rights are likely to remain in some form. In fact, the director's union is considering similar rights for its members who direct low-budget new productions. However, in a period of economic decline, without public control over arts institutions and with government austerity, it is likely that artists will continue to compete with each other for the crumbs.

Susan Cowell is a member of a Boston research consulting group.

As this issue goes to press, the Met orchestra has agreed to waive concessions in exchange for a reduced work-week. The other Met unions are now negotiating.



Management threatened to shut down the Met for a season rather than meet orchestra demands.

Symphony and Opera Musicians, is now accepted by the union, but its strength comes from representing a small and homogeneous group of musicians whose jobs are secure.

Recently, management's shut-down of the New York Metropolitan Opera for the season, and a dispute between Actors' Equity and the Dramatists' Guild have raised larger questions about the work of artists.

At the Met, the key orchestra demand is not for money but for one fewer performance per week. They are willing to take less pay than the Met has offered to offset the cost of hiring additional musicians. For management also,

interview that the musicians would be selling ice cream if the Met went under—has earned the musicians relatively sympathetic media treatment.

The musicians have also asked questions about who controls publicly-funded non-profit institutions. They say the Met is a public institution and should be operated in the broad public interest. The Met does receive direct public subsidies as well as subsidy through tax exemptions. It is the pre-eminent American opera company in a field that can support little competition.

However, the government has largely entrusted the arts to private patrons. The Met has also

tent. One musician was particularly impressed by the Vienna State Opera in which, he said, artists elect the opera manager. None of these ideas has been put forward in bargaining. The antagonism between Bliss and the orchestra has become a seemingly insuperable obstacle to a constructive bargaining climate. The union is demanding Bliss' replacement and threatening a suit against him.

While the musicians struggle for respect in Lincoln Center's halls of marble, activists at Actors' Equity search for ways to help their members survive. The statistics are grim. At any given time, 85-90 percent of Equity

and agents, not for paying audiences. The first code established subsidiary rights, which guaranteed that actors who performed for free to interest potential producers in a work would either be offered a role in a contract production resulting from the showcase or be paid a set amount by the eventual producer.

Barbara Colton, a vice president of Equity who wrote the original code, says that at the time there was opposition within Equity for fear that showcases would develop into competition for contract productions and legitimize union acceptance of unpaid work. Indeed, the Showcase Code became the basis for Equity

Rebels

Continued from page 9

as a bridge over the Torola River near the town of Osicala before being stopped by the military. From there, rifle grenades, mortars and automatic weapons fire could be heard in the nearby hills. Later that evening, guerrillas were able to infiltrate behind the army roadblock at the bridge and burn down the mayor's office in Osicala.

A week earlier we had visited the town of Arcatao in the nearby northern department of Chaletenango and found a similar situation. The guerrillas had just blown up a 40-foot-high bridge over the Rio Sumpul (site of a major massacre in May) and cut power and phone lines, thus isolating some 20 square miles of switchback roads and sparsely populated

ed mountain territory along the demilitarized zone that separates El Salvador from Honduras.

After racing our four-wheel drive pickup across the half-collapsed span of the bridge (which could not support an army truck) we bounced our way several hours up a rocky path to the town of Arcatao. Like Perquin and Osicala, it had been taken over by right-wing refugees, members of ORDEN and their families. They were sharing arms with a small garrison of 14 shabby, poorly disciplined national guardsmen.

The previous residents of this and numerous other towns in the north have been forced into the mountains with the guerrillas by rightist oppression.

An example of how the right has forced the *campesinos* out of the towns was demonstrated that evening when a drunken guardsman decided to kill a young woman sitting nearby whom he suspected of being in contact with the insurgents. His comrades took away his gun and ma-

chete (this time).

Several hours later we witnessed the nightly attack on the guard *cuartel* and the random firing pattern of its defenders, who kept their radio tuned to a San Salvador rock station throughout the fight. The following morning, shadowed by the rightists, we decided to skip a pre-arranged rendezvous with the guerrillas on a nearby mountaintop.

The intensifying war in the north is one reason why the military governments of El Salvador and Honduras have decided to make peace. Their new treaty, to be signed at the end of October, will end an 11-year state of belligerence dating back to the so-called "Soccer War" of 1969 (actually fought over the issue of displaced Salvadorean peasants running up against military "land reform" in Honduras). Salvador's junta expects the treaty will lead to the abolition of the demilitarized zone that has become a base area for Salvadorean guerrillas.

Workers' strikes and student occupa-

tions in early October convinced the military government of General Policarpo Paz in Honduras that it was time to give up old grudges and join in common cause with a former enemy to fight the left. Whether this treaty comes too late to contain the growing conflict in the region is another question.

One thing that cannot be disputed is the determination of Salvador's revolutionary left. "We really have nothing to lose," says George, the former leader of the OAS occupation in San Salvador, an Uzi sub-machine gun lying discreetly by his side. "There's no work for our young people, the schools have been shut down, the peasants aren't getting anything out of the land reform except killed. You can't talk about deals. All you can do is accept your death and then fight to stay alive. When the revolution will win I can't tell you. That it will I have no doubt."

David Helvarg has been filing a series of reports from Central America.

Greens

Continued from page 9

of the Green Party was that the diverse issues that have mobilized ecological groups throughout West Germany—opposition not only to nuclear plants, but to construction of airports and super-highways where the local folks don't want them—all spring from a powerful new world view capable of mobilizing millions of people of different class origins. The creation of a party, with the need to spell out an overall electoral program, would be the occasion to bring out and clarify that world view in all its irresistible ramifications.

In fact the platform battles—first in Saarbrücken last March and then in Dortmund in June—tore the party apart before it even got together. When the Greens got through agreeing on nuclear power plants, they disagreed on just about everything else. And the splits occurred along the same old familiar left-right lines that the visionaries hoped were outdated by the ecological revelation.

Indeed, the green bedfellows are particularly strange. On the one hand, there are out-and-out conservatives, including many of the celebrities of the movement. One of these is former Christian Democratic *Bundestag* member Herbert Gruhl, who in his 1976 best-seller, *Ein Planet Wird Geplündert* (A Planet Is Being Plundered), advocated nuclear weapons for the West German armed forces, to be ready for the coming war for resources that he foresaw. On the other hand, the sight of masses of people getting together to challenge the establishment inevitably drew most of West Germany's homeless radicals into the Green Party. In particular, the country's Maoist vanguards seem all to have dissolved into the Greens, bringing with them their inimitable zeal for imposing the correct line on any gathering of more than 10 people.

The Green scene varies sharply from one part of Germany to another. In Hamburg, a fraction (calling itself *Z* group) broke off from the locally numerous Maoist *Kommunistischer Bund* to join the Green Party and take it over. Other Greens accuse this group of deliberately trying to split the party by taking aggressive positions on such issues as abortion and worker struggles to drive out the conservatives. This split has carried over into the neighboring state of Schleswig-Holstein, which has two green groups, left and conservative.

The Green Party in West Berlin is also in the hands of veterans of Maoism, but of a different brand. In 1974, the *Kommunistische Partei Deutschland* (KPD), largest of the Maoist "K-groups," had cells in every neighborhood and major firm in West Berlin and was active in many struggles. It has been declining ever since, and formally disbanded last spring. Meanwhile, it had steadily lost militants, many of whom went into a broader and less dogmatic organization called the Alternative Group, which peaked about three years ago with 1,200 people. An estimated 90 percent of Berlin Greens came out of the Alternative

Group, and have defined a clear political program criticizing capitalist growth and making social demands on behalf of women, the unemployed, the aged and so on.

In West Berlin and some other major cities, the Greens have a particular social base in the counter-cultural scene of people who reject the bourgeois model of society to live and work in communes practicing equality of tasks and income.

The situation is quite different in the southern state of Baden-Württemberg, a main stronghold of the movement where ecological candidates have won over 5 percent and are represented in local government. There, the Green Party is rooted both in university towns like Tübingen and Heidelberg, and in the more conservative countryside, which has a lively tradition of more or less bourgeois opposition groups—and there is cooperation between these tendencies in a multitude of different local situations.

Still other conditions prevail in Bremen, the other state with Greens in the state legislature, including some of the best-known ecological figures, such as Olaf Dinne, a former Social Democrat. Bremen's elected ecologists objected to the Green Party platform's not sticking to strict ecological demands and walked out of the national party.

The national Green Party platform, which represented something of a Pyrrhic victory for the left (grouping a majority of former social democrats and independents of the "non-dogmatic left" as well as the Maoist minority) was widely criticized as a vague statement of good intentions with little inner coherence. Its main points were: no more nuclear power plants; immediate worldwide disarmament; no stationing of NATO missiles on German soil; an end to military blocs, notably NATO and the Warsaw Pact; an end to the political job discrimination known as *Berufsservort*; full right to strike and a ban on lockouts; the 35-hour work week.

The Green Party's notable switch in emphasis during the campaign from purely ecological to peace issues no doubt reflects in large part the war scare that has grown in recent months.

While compromises were reached on most issues, the party split over the "economy and labor" section of the program. Conservatives and some former social democrats like Dinne argued that the 35-hour work week without loss of pay and the social welfare measures implied heavy government spending and economic growth. They saw this as counter to their two basic principles: decentralization and zero growth. But the need to draft an electoral program in a hurry does not seem to have favored development of these ideas in depth.

The German experience suggests that ecology is not a sufficient basis for a political party, but rather a single dimension of our reality that has been grossly and dangerously neglected. Ecological awareness, though essential to any reasonable political orientation, is not enough to overcome conflicts of interest between classes and bring everybody into unanimous peaceful agreement.

The Green movement is essentially a middle-class movement in rich countries. Many of its more conservative militants

are relatively well-off people with the means and knowledge to enjoy a high quality of life that they feel is threatened by industrial society. Their concerns are not necessarily shared by the masses of workers fearful above all of an economic recession—"zero growth."

Part of the German left considers that instead of forming a separate party, ecologists should try to influence the labor unions and the Social Democratic party. One such group is the "Life Action Circle," which tries to bring arguments against atomic power into the labor unions and refute the belief, common

among blue-collar workers in Germany, as in most other countries, that atomic power will protect jobs. Germany, they argue, could be a world exporter of solar energy technology, and they note that the German metal workers youth organization, representing about 600,000 people, has unanimously condemned nuclear power.

This approach seems old-fashioned to many disillusioned Marxists who have concluded that workers are "not a revolutionary class" after all. The Green Party's failure at the polls leaves the debate wide open.

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee.

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1110 6th Street, NW, #300
Washington, DC 20001

The Citizens Party-National Office
525 13th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20004

The Citizens Party of Illinois
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603
Chicago, IL 60602
(312) 332-2066

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
120 Maryland Ave., N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

C.O.I.N.-Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities
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Suite 413
Washington, DC 20036

DSOC-Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee
853 Broadway, Room 801
New York, NY 10003

Midwest Academy
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

National Center for Economic Alternatives
2000 P Street, N.W.
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

NAM-New American Movement

3244 N. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60657

New Patriot Alliance
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

Partido Cubano Democrático Socialista
Exterior Office
P.O. Box 350805
Miami, FL 33135
(305) 638-4880

Science for the People
897 Main Street
Cambridge, MA 02139

Socialist Party, U.S.A.
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135 W. Wells Street
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CALENDAR

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CHICAGO, I L

November 8

Karen Silkwood: Union Sister. Dr. Rosalie Bertell, Sarah Jean Nelson, Jerry Gordon and Dennis Brutus will lead workshops from 2-5:30 p.m. on: Medical Hazards of Radiation, Civil Liberties and Nuclear Power, Nuclear Power as Women's Issue and Labor and Nuclear Power. "China Syndrome" will be shown at 12 p.m. Keynote speakers/reception at 7 p.m. Univ. of Ill.-Circle Campus, 750 S. Halsted, Lecture Center A. Call: Citizens Against Nuclear Power, (312) 786-9041.

November 15 & 16

Come meet Studs Terkel, author of "American Dreams: Lost and Found," at 1:00 p.m. on Saturday, at Guild Books & Periodicals, 1118 W. Armitage. Also, there will be a benefit for Guild Books, featuring Sparrow, the Chicago jazz musician, on Sunday, from 5-9 p.m., at the North Branch Saloon, 1134 W. Armitage. Call (312) 525-3667 for more information.

BROOKLYN, N Y

November 12

There will be an organizing meeting for Brooklyn DSOC at the home of Sy Posner, 54 Montgomery Place (between Prospect

Park West and 8th Avenue, near Army Plaza). Join DSOC's progressive coalition in preparing for their assault on Brooklyn's red-liners—Con. Ed's Meade Esposito—and others.

NEW YORK, N Y

November 14

There will be a Radical History Forum on: "Toward 1984: Reflections on the Election" with Mimi Kelber and Joel Rogers. Alan Wolfe will be the moderator. Admission is \$2.00. At 7:30 p.m., at John Jay College, 445 W. 59th St.

NATIONWIDE

November 15 & 17

"Free Voice of Labor—the Jewish Anarchists," a film about the Yiddish anarchists and the role they played in building the clothing trades unions, will be shown on PBS on or about Nov. 17 (check local stations for details), except in New York where it will be shown on Nov. 15 at 8:00 p.m. For more information call: Pacific Street Films at (212) 875-9722.

WASHINGTON, D C

November 16 & 17

Make the connection between the violence of the Pentagon and the violence in women's daily lives. Women will be meeting on Sunday to share political concerns, cultural experiences and work skills. On Monday, women will gather at the Pentagon to demonstrate our concern over the increasing militarism in U.S. defense policies and decreasing attention to human needs. For more information, contact Women's Pentagon Action at (212) 242-3270 (NYC) or (202) 234-2000 (DC).

Names

Continued from page 26

collaboration?" provide his building blocks.

Navasky terms his quest for the answers to these questions a "moral detective story." In fact, as the wording of the above questions indicate, Navasky is engaged in a game of moral nine-pins, in which he assiduously sets up the pins (explanations of informers or collaborators) and then, in one or two incisively written concluding pages, bows them off the alley.

I do not disagree with his conclusions. I agree with Navasky when he says: "By risking in some cases their careers and in other cases their freedom as well, by doing their time (in prison and in career-purgatory), they have emerged in the culture as

moral exemplars; they taught us how to act...." I think, however, that this statement should have appeared on page one, not page 406.

Navasky's decision to appear as a "moral detective" leads him to questions about the nature of moral crime, sin, repentance, expiation and suffering. He does not ask a different kind of question: Was the oppressive wave that crested in America between 1947 and 1953 heightened or diminished by the decisions of 30 Hollywood people to cooperate with the House Committee on Un-American Activities or McCarthy's Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations? Or, to put it differently, did the witch hunters need informers to perform what Navasky terms "Degradation ceremonies"?

I think not. The names of the ten men that appeared on the first Hollywood blacklist in November 1947 were exposed without the cooperation of one liber-

al informer. The names were provided by the FBI and a group of people Navasky has labeled "conspiracy informers"—the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals.

Sylvia Jarrico told Navasky that informers should be held in obloquy because they failed the first test of a citizen in a democracy—that is, they refused to pay the price of liberty: "eternal vigilance." She thereby repeated the warning issued almost 200 years ago in *Federalist Papers* Number 84. Addressing the issue of constitutional protection for a free press, Alexander Hamilton wrote: "Its security, whatever fine declarations may be inserted in any constitution respecting it, must altogether depend on public opinion, and on the general spirit of the people and of the government."

Larry Ceplair is the co-author of *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Movie Community, 1930-1960*.

CULTURE SHOCK

SPINOFFS

Reagan's candidacy created new commercial interest in his old films. Universal has put four of his features, including *Bedtime for Bonzo* and *Law and Order* on the foreign sales market.

ALL THE WAY

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Nobel prize-winner Czeslaw
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MYSTIC DISSIDENT



BY KAREN ROSENBERG

PITY THE JOURNALIST faced with the task of reporting on the latest winner of the Nobel prize for literature. At some ungodly hour, he hears the news. Not only is Czeslaw Milosz (Ches-wav Mi-wosh) a difficult name to pronounce, but the man wrote in Polish to boot.

Furthermore, his volumes of poetry represent only a part of his *oeuvre*. Much of the remainder—essays and poems—is scattered in various emigre journals. In recent years, only a few articles about him have appeared in American periodicals like *Books Abroad* and they offer only biographical information and rather impressionistic characterizations of his writings.

But if tomorrow's paper is to carry the story, a newspaperman must make do with what he's got. And so over coffee we read about a dissident who fled Communist Poland in '51 and a poet cut off from the source of his language—all the standard categories with which readers and journalists are all too familiar.

Milosz is not a cross between Brzezinski and Brodsky, however, and these tags do him a profound disservice. A man of considerable sophistication, he does not hold simplistic anti-Communist views.

"The writers who landed in Western Europe or America," he once wrote, "brought with them various shades of political opinion that did not necessarily correspond to the crude classification into 'right thinking' and 'wrong thinking' applied after 1945 in both East and West in consequence of the cold war." Surely he had himself partly in mind, since his views were too subtle and complex for many in the Western Polish-speaking community.

The Captive Mind, his novel criticizing intellectuals who cooperated with the post-war Polish government, was considered too soft by some emigre critics who suspected him of Marxist or Hegelian tendencies. They knew that in 1931, as a student of law at the University of Wilno, he had been a member of a literary group with sympathies for Marxism and metaphysics. His 1933 collection of poetry expressing left-wing sentiments

made him suspect, as did the fact that he lived in and worked for post-war Poland for a while. For such reasons, Milosz did not become the darling of most emigre circles.

But the Milosz who left Poland for France and later for America was by no means a Marxist. Distrustful of systematic philosophical and political thought as potential dogma, he had abandoned hope in theory. In one of his poems, "A Short Recess," a bard (not to be naively identified with the author) described his experiences with confident believers:

*I made a pledge, what kind, I don't remember.
I wore a silver scout badge, then a gold one.
I took an oath, in mystical lodges, in underground assemblies
Swearing by the freedom of the people, or perhaps by brotherhood.
I wasn't to be obedient to my slogans or my chiefs.
Some lazy earthly spirit from under the roots of trees
Has obviously made other arrangements
Having a little laugh at the expense of my morals.
Engaged in weighty discussion of killing for the common good
My clear-eyed companions glanced distractedly
As I passed their table, a naive lute player.
And while they sat at their chess games (the winner was to execute the verdict)
I believed they were taking part in the tournaments for fun.
How I envied them: so magnificent,
So free from what I guarded as my shameful secret:*

*That, like the mermaid from Anderson's tale
I tried to walk correctly but a thin pain
Reminded me that I was foolish to try to imitate people.*

IT IS HARDLY surprising that Milosz, who had witnessed World War II and Stalinism in Poland, would put the words, "freedom," "brotherhood" and "the common good" in the mouths of assassins.

Perhaps more unexpected is the appearance of tree goblins in the lines above. They suggest the fantastic and powerful force of nature in Milosz's poetry. The devastation of past wars and the possibility of an impending apocalypse are recurrent themes in his work, but hope and solace emerge from the smallest, simplest phenomena, like rustling pebbles.

*Gift
A day so happy.
Fog lifted early, I worked in the garden.
Hummingbirds were stopping over honeysuckle flowers
There was no thing on earth I wanted to possess.
I knew no one worth my envying him.
Whatever evil I had suffered, I forgot.
To think that once I was the same man did not embarrass me.
In my body I felt no pain.
When straightening up, I saw the blue sea and sails.*

Nature is regenerative, an instrument of healing. God dwells within it, Milosz apparently believes. Yet he expresses this mysticism in precise language and care-

fully chosen images. A permanent lecturer in the Slavic Department at Berkeley, Milosz draws upon the Western tradition in writing poetry. His is an intelligent and intellectual faith.

It is always impossible to find exact cultural equivalents, but Victor Erlich, also a professor of literature and a Polish emigre, cautiously compares Milosz to Wallace Stevens. Indeed, in Milosz we are dealing with a poet with at least the stature of Stevens. And despite the difficulty of being a man of letters in emigration, Milosz has achieved a notable amount of recognition for his work.

Even before receiving the Nobel prize, he was awarded awards for literary excellence. Translations of his works have appeared in *New Poetry* and *American Poetry Review*, and in two volumes, *Bells in Winter* and *Selected Poems*, the second of which is still in print. He even entered American popular literature in John Hersey's *The Wall*, where a group in the Resistance during World War II are moved by a reading of "Campo di Fiori," Milosz's poem about the Holocaust.

Milosz is also recognized in his native country as a major 20th-century Polish poet. He has found an audience there through the relatively open circulation of emigre journals and typescript manuscripts. (In recent years, Poland has been considerably more tolerant than many countries of unofficially imported and *samizdat* literature. One recent emigre told me that she had never missed one issue of the Paris periodical *Kultura*, where Milosz publishes regularly.)

Even before the recent strikes in Poland, there were plans to publish a collection of his work there, although the details are still under negotiation. A man who commands this kind of respect in both East and West defies easy characterization.

It is said that the Nobel prize for literature goes to writers who have demonstrated concern for major moral issues. (Perhaps that is why the ironic, even flip-pant, Nabokov has been passed over.) Milosz certainly has this dimension. The Nobel committee may also have been impressed by the extraordinarily wide range of his accomplishments—his essays, novels and poems. The award, one hopes, will stimulate more translations of his works so that a large group of readers will become acquainted with his versatile talents.

Karen Rosenberg teaches Slavic literature at Williams College.

